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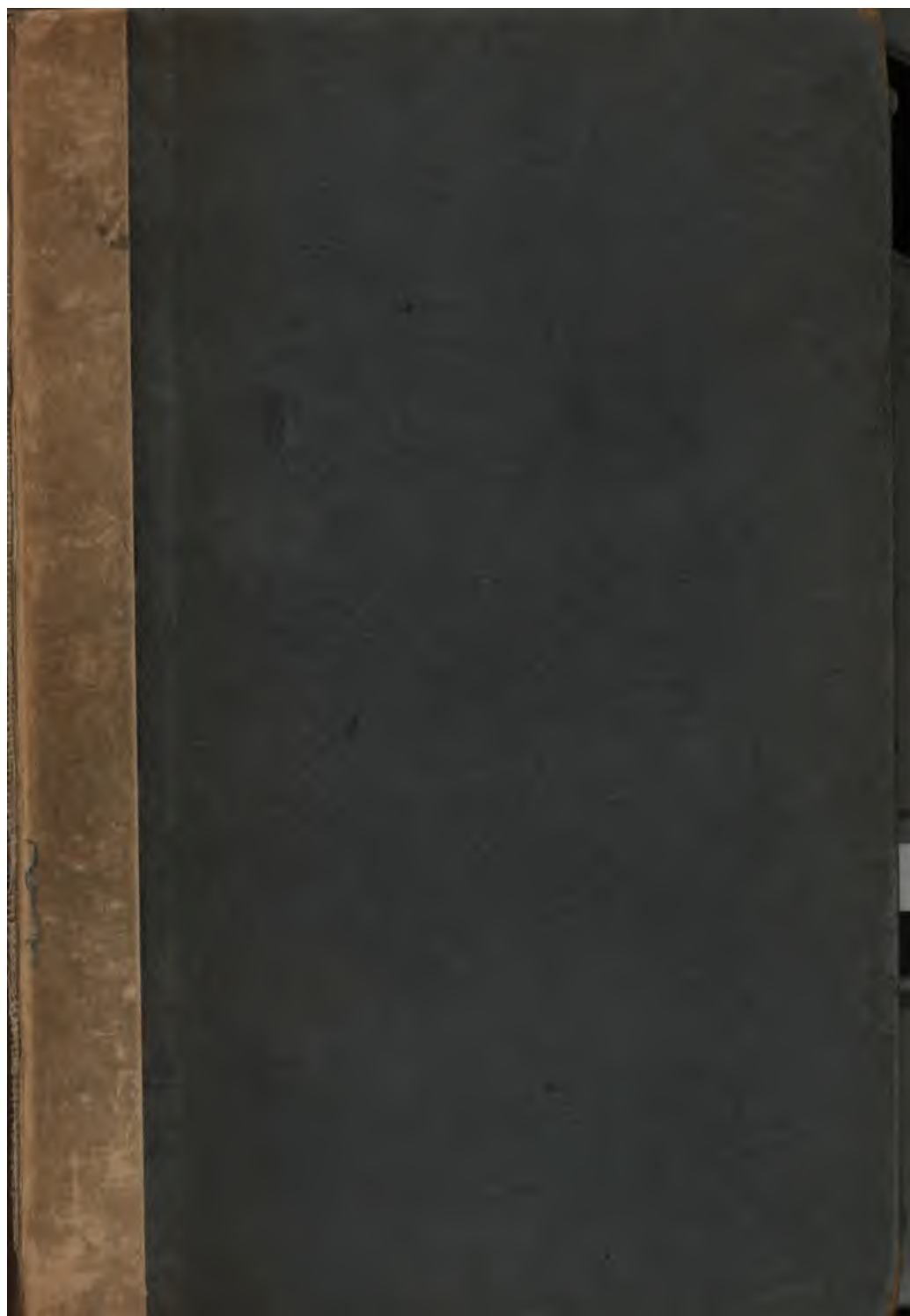
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AETNA

R. ELLIS

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AETNA

A CRITICAL RECENSION OF THE TEXT, BASED ON A NEW
EXAMINATION OF MSS.

WITH PROLEGOMENA, TRANSLATION, TEXTUAL AND
EXEGETICAL COMMENTARY, EXCURSUS, AND
COMPLETE INDEX OF THE WORDS

BY

ROBINSON ELLIS, M.A., LL.D.

CORPUS PROFESSOR OF THE LATIN LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE
HONORARY FELLOW OF TRINITY COLLEGE

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PRINTER TO THE UNIVERSITY

TO
THE REVEREND
THOMAS FOWLER D.D.

PRESIDENT OF THE COLLEGE OF CORPUS CHRISTI
THIS VOLUME IS DEDICATED IN RECOGNITION OF
MANY ACTS OF FRIENDSHIP CONTINUED
THROUGH A PERIOD OF MORE
THAN FORTY YEARS

PREFACE

THIS volume does not aspire to do more than adumbrate the present state of criticism on the many problems which the difficult poem *Aetna* raises. When, in 1867, Munro gave to the world for the first time a complete collation of the one unimpeachable source for constituting the text, the tenth-century Cambridge MS. Kk v. 34, he was really laying the basis of a more exact criticism; for though the value of *C* was well known, and its readings had been used by Moriz Haupt in his various papers and dissertations on *Aetna*, no complete conspectus of the MS. was before the public till the great Cambridge scholar exhibited it in its entirety.

Little was done for the further illustration of the poem till 1880 when Bährens edited the poem as part of the Appendix Vergiliana in the second volume of his *Poetae Latini Minores*. Munro had not included among the MSS. he employed the eleventh century fragment of Stavelot (fragmentum Stabulense): this, which had first been published by Bormans in *Bulletins de l'Académie Royale Belgique*, Tome xxi (1854), pp. 258-379, was re-collated by Bährens and shown to agree generally, where it could be read, with the somewhat earlier written *C*. He also exhibited the readings of two Paris collections of excerpts, Par. 7647 and 17903. Except in these points Bährens' recension must be considered a retrogression. Munro had been careful to point out the questionable authenticity of some of the Gyraldinian variants. Bährens boldly adopted them all and even made of them a first class as compared with the other MSS., *C* and *S* included. Munro had throughout the poem kept *C* steadily in sight, rarely admitting conjectures, and emending on the basis of *C*, where he thought emendation was required: transposition of verses

PREFACE

he carefully avoided. Bährens, always free-handed in this matter, nowhere allowed himself greater licence than in emending and transposing the verses of *Aetna*.

A new departure was made in 1882 by Kruczkiewicz's dissertation, *Poema de Aetna monte Vergilio auctori praecipue tribuendum*, in which a return was made to the view, mentioned in the *Life of Vergil* ascribed to Donatus, but now generally believed to be by Suetonius, that Vergil was the author of the poem. This was followed in 1884 by Wagler's *de Aetna poemate quaestiones criticae*: a review of which by Karl Schenkl will be found in *Philolog. Anzeiger*, xvi. 117-121.

When, in 1887, I visited Rome with the object of examining MSS. of the Vergilian opuscula, it was one of my chief aims to find a new codex of *Aetna*; a codex from which *C* might be corrected, or the Gyraldinian readings confirmed and estimated in their proper light. Fortune did not befriend me in this: I could nowhere meet with a MS. which, like the Corsini MS. of the *Culex*, could confidently be said to restore at least one desperate passage. The best of those I saw, *Vat.* 3272, was imperfect and often badly interpolated. The poem, however, was never out of my thoughts, and in the *Journal of Philology* for 1887 began a series of papers continued thenceforward at intervals up to 1899¹. I also delivered three public lectures upon the poem: 1. 'A Prose Translation' (March 11, 1896); 2. 'The Date of Aetna' (Nov. 17, 1898); 3. 'The MSS. of Aetna' (Nov. 16, 1899).

My first recension of the text was printed in Professor Postgate's *Corpus Poetarum Latinorum* in 1896.

In his volume on the *Culex*, published in 1887, Richard Hildebrandt treated many passages of *Aetna*, and followed up

¹ 1. *Journ. of Philol.*, 1887, pp. 292-316 (with R. Unger's emendations, continued in 1888, pp. 155-157).

2. *Ibid.*, 1892, pp. 207-236, on the Rehdiger MS.

3. 1894, p. 314, Escorial MS. of *Aetna* excerpts.

4. 1895, Re-collation of fragm. Stabulense, with further remarks.

5. 1899, p. 111, Emendation of *Aetna*, 171.

6. 1900, *Classical Review*, pp. 123-125. On the manuscript tradition of *Aetna* (the Pithou variants in MS. D'Orville, x. 1. 6).

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these studies in 1897 by a paper in *Philologus*, xvi. pp. 97-117, which discussed (a) the *Gyraldinus*, (b) the *Fragm. Strabulense*. More recently in his *Beiträge zur Erklärung des Gedichtes Aetna* he has made a valuable contribution to a more minute knowledge of the diction and syntax of the poem, as my frequent references to him will show. Like Wagler, and later Sudhaus, Hildebrandt is a thorough believer in the goodness of the Gyraldinian readings, a point of view from which Munro had already dissented, and which, after my own strong disclaimer in the *Journal of Philology*, Alzinger, in a notable paper communicated in 1896 to the 153rd vol. of *Neue Jahrbücher* p. 845, *Der Wert des Codex Gyraldinus für die Kritik des Aetna*, even more emphatically repudiated¹. Alzinger had already in his *Studia in Aetnam collata* re-examined the question of authorship and, arguing on the lines of Kruczkiewicz, assigned to the poem a date after the publication of Lucretius' *de rerum natura* (the language of which is closely imitated) but before Vergil, whose many resemblances of diction to *Aetna* Alzinger considers to prove that he had read our poem and borrowed consciously from it. Alzinger's list of parallels, drawn from Lucretius and Vergil, are of very great value, though as regards Vergil, many will reject his conclusion; he is not so happy in restoring the text.

It is with a very mixed feeling that I speak of Sudhaus' edition (1898). In fulness of scientific illustrations, drawn equally from ancient and modern authorities, it far surpasses any of its predecessors; and its author's main contention, that the poet's chief source was Poseidonius, though of course incapable of proof—for Seneca's *Natural Questions* are enough to show how vast an array of scientific writings we have to deplore as irrecoverably lost—is enforced with an assiduity, not to say pertinacity, which commands respect and might almost seem convincing. Moreover, the work is written throughout *con amore*, and displays an enthusiasm not unworthy of the poet himself, even where the meaning of the

¹ Schanz, however, *Geschichte der Römischen Literatur*, § 239, ed. 2, 1899, sides with the pro-Gyraldinians against Alzinger.

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words is obscured by imperfect art in the composer or hopeless vitiation in the MSS. Nor will any one deny that Sudhaus' position is throughout that of a perfectly independent explorer, assured of the truth of his own views, and not afraid of asserting them boldly and undisguisedly. For the actual restoration of the text he has made at least one suggestion which most scholars will consider certain (*frecenti*, 579), and his discussion of critical and exegetical difficulties throughout goes hand in hand with an enlarged scientific perception, such as neither Jacob nor Munro could claim.

But after all, the value of an edition of a difficult work of antiquity, especially a poetical work, and this transmitted in an imperfect and often deeply vitiated condition, must ultimately rest on considerations of a more tangible and palpable kind, such as the inter-relation of the MSS. which have preserved it, and the indications of language and metre.

Now, as regards the MSS. of *Aetna*, Sudhaus starts with two hypotheses, neither of which is proven: (1) that no weight is to be given to the fifteenth century codices, even in cases where, as against *C* or *S*, they seem to be right; (2) that the variants *reported* as coming from the so-called Gyraldinian MS. are always to be preferred to those of our earliest and best actually *existing* MSS. (*C* and *S*). The latter of these two hypotheses appears to me indisputably wrong, and if it is wrong, as I hope to have shown in my *Prolegomena*, any text of the poem which adopts the whole of these Gyraldinian variants, must be erroneous and untrustworthy.

When we come to metre, what can be said of *crēber*, 107; *fortis*, *tenuis*, as nominatives singular, 314, 494; *fluuium*, unelided before *haut*, 129; *fortē*, lengthened before *flexere*, 289?

Flagrant as these offences against prosody must be thought, they are surpassed by the boldness, not to say violence, of Sudhaus' exegesis. Trained to believe that the 'Überlieferung' or MS. tradition of the text is to be retained at any cost, he has not scrupled to elicit from passages obviously corrupt meanings which, to a sane criticism, they cannot possibly bear. As examples may be mentioned his defence of *eripiantur*, 393; *coritur*, 406; *extra*, as abl. fem. of *exter*, 456; and the

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impossible renderings of 375 sqq., 462 sqq. Nor can these be regarded as exceptional; such interpretations will be found throughout his volume.

If philological criticism may be regarded as a delicate plant which it has taken centuries to nurture into perfection, we seem to have arrived at a period full of danger to its growth, or even continuance. At the beginning of the twentieth century we are asked to accept as possible, Latin which from the sixteenth century onwards would have been either called in question as suspicious, or corrected as indubitably corrupt. From age to age, the progress of philological science has been hitherto marked, partly by more exact examination and appraisal of MSS., partly by increased skill in eliciting from the manuscript tradition some restoration not violently in conflict with the probabilities of language or metre. Such nice adjustment of the two main bases of criticism, Palaeography and Conjecture, has in different degrees distinguished all the most eminent philologists, Vettori, Turnèbe, Scaliger, Heinsius (sixteenth and seventeenth centuries), Bentley (eighteenth), Lachmann, Haupt, Madvig, Ritschl, Munro, Palmer (nineteenth).

It is not to be denied that this balance of palaeography and conjecture has often seemed to waver unduly and sway undesirably in favour of the latter. Bährens' edition of *Aetna* is a fair type of what I mean. His unsurpassed mastery of the palaeographical side of criticism was out of all proportion greater than his feeling for niceties of diction or prosody. Hence with all the materials before him for an able reconstitution of the text of the poem, he allowed himself to be led into wild conjectures and reckless transpositions which defy probability. It is perhaps not surprising that Sudhaus, whose edition followed Bährens' at an interval of eighteen years, should have wished to avoid his example, and set himself to the task of explaining the manuscript tradition even where it was hopeless.

It will be seen from what I have said, that part of my object in the present edition of *Aetna* is a polemical one. I wish to controvert, partly, indeed, the actual interpretations of my predecessor, but still more the principle on which his exegesis

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is based. It is, I imagine, of importance at this particular juncture, to re-assert with more than usual emphasis the existence of the trained critical faculty; a faculty which is competent to reject the impossible in language, syntax, or metre, however strongly it may be supported by early manuscript tradition, and however plausibly it may be shown to be quite explicable. There is a growing school of critics, not only in Germany but England, the central point of whose creed is virtually to deny this. Several years ago¹ I raised my voice against one of the boldest exponents of this creed: the present volume is meant to prove that I have not abandoned my colours.

The audacity and independence of Sudhaus' *Aetna* naturally roused much attention, at least in the author's own country; both Bücheler and Birt contributed papers on the poem, *Rhein. Mus.* liv. 1-8, *Philologus*, lvii. 603-641. Most of their remarks will be found either in the App. Crit. of my edition or discussed at more length in the Commentary. Besides these I do not know of anything which has appeared within the last few years except Franke's *Res Metrica Aetnei Carminis* (Marburg, 1898) and F. Walter's *Zur Textbehandlung und zur Autorfrage des Aetna* (Blätter für Bayer. Gymnasialschulwesen, xxxv. Jahrgang).

I subjoin a list of the MSS. and other subsidia used for this edition.

C of the tenth century in the University Library of Cambridge, Kk v. 34.

This is by far the best MS. of *Aetna*. It contains also the *Culex*. Its readings were first published in their entirety by H. A. J. Munro in 1867. I transcribed the whole of *C* for this edition.

S = fragmentum Stabulense, 17, 177 in the National Library of Paris, once in the Monastery of Stavelot (see Proleg., p. lv). This fragment consists of some badly preserved leaves of cent. xi, containing in double columns, tolerably complete, *Aetn.* 1-170, 215-258, 260-301; in a truncated form, 171-213, 303-345.

¹ In a review of Leo's *Culex*, Academy for 1891, no. 1016.

PREFACE

The fragmentum Stabulense was first published in 1854 by Bormans in the Belgian *Bulletins de l'Acad. Royale des Sciences et Belles Lettres*, Tome xxi. Munro did not include it in his edition: but it was re-collated by Bährens in 1875, and I have myself examined it several times.

S agrees very closely with *C*, and its imperfect state (it is often illegible) is much to be deplored. See my notes of a recollation of *S* in *Journ. of Philol.* for 1895, pp. 1-9.

Rehd. or *r*=MS. Rehdiger 125 in the Town Library of Breslau, of the fifteenth century. I collated it at Breslau in 1891, and published my collation in *Journ. of Philol.* for 1892, vol. xx. pp. 207-223. Its readings had been exhibited before by Jacob in 1826, and partially by Munro in 1867. He calls it *ε*.

The same library contains another MS. of *Aetna*, *Rehd.* 60. I looked into this only cursorily: one of its variants however, *plebeis* in 600, suggests a new emendation, which I think may be right.

Arund. or *Ar.*=Arundel 133, in the British Museum, in double columns, of the fifteenth century. It contains also the *Ciris* and *Catalepta*. Munro used it and called it *γ*.

Both *Rehd.* and *Arund.* are good enough to be quoted, hardly to be quoted entire. At times both are hopelessly corrupted, and the true reading exists in *C* or *S* only. A typical specimen is 209.

v = Vatican 3272 of the fifteenth century, containing *Aetn.* 1-432 *secundius aethna*. Interpolated, but at times with readings which differ from *Rehd.* or *Ar.*, and may go back to an early source. Collated by me in the Vatican Library, April and May, 1887.

Esc. = Q. 1. 14, in the Library of the Escorial near Madrid. This is a large volume of excerpts from a great number of Roman authors, prose and poetry alike. Hartel in his *Bibliotheca Patrum Hispaniensis* dates the MS. as of cent. xiii-xiv. I copied the excerpts from *Culex* and *Aetna* and published them in 1894, 5 (*Journ. of Philol.* xxii. pp. 314-316, xxiii. 1-4). They agree closely with those of Bährens' Paris MSS. 7647 and 17903, which are not included in my App. Crit.

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Gyr. = the readings of a very early MS. now lost, but used in the sixteenth century by Lilius Gyraldus, who transcribed from it a poem, 'de Aetna monte.' From this codex, which Gyraldus says contained Claudian, are believed to spring certain variants on *Aetna* (only on 138-285) not traceable in any complete codex of the poem; on which see Prolegom., pp. lxiv-lxxxiv. One fragment alone, the last sixteen of these verses (270-285), is preserved entire with the Gyraldinian variants as we know them from the two collations made of them in the eighteenth century. This fragment of sixteen entire verses (*L*) is extant in a MS. of the Laurentian Library at Florence (33. 9), and by the kindness of Father Ehrle, S.J., Librarian of the Vatican, who copied them himself from the MS., I am able to present them to my readers exactly as there written. The value of these variants is a point on which critics are not agreed: my own judgement is decidedly against allowing them a preponderating authority against our two early sources *C S*.

To the above must be added another set of variants contained in MS. D'Orville x. 1, 6, 6, of the eighteenth century, in the Bodleian. This codex contains, as stated on p. 1, 'notes and emendations' by Pierre Pithou on the text of his well-known *Epigrammata et Poematia Vetera*, Paris, 1590. Those on *Aetna* begin on p. 40 of the MS. I communicated these to the *Classical Review* for March, 1900, whence they are reprinted, Prolegom., p. lxxxiv. I call them *Excerpta Pithoeana*.

Other MSS. I have looked at, but not judged them worth collating *in extenso*. Such are Sloane 777 in the British Museum; Corsini 43 F. III. 21; Naples Museum 207; another in the Chigi Library at Rome; *Helmstadiensis* 332 now at Wolfenbüttel. But we must deeply lament the loss of *Aetna* in Corsini 43 F. 5, the same MS. which alone has preserved the right reading of *Cul.* 366, and of whose readings in the pseud-Ovidian *Epistula Sapphus* I have published a collation in the *Classical Review* for June 1901. The scribe of this MS. began copying *Aetna*, but left off at v. 7. It alone has preserved in v. 1 the variant *ruptisque caui*.

PREFACE

EDITIONS OF *Aetna* WITH COMMENTARY.

Paris, 1507. Virgilii opera Ecl. Georg. Aen. Opuscula ed. Jodocus Badius Ascensius.

This edition, which seems to be rare, was published by Joannes Parvus (Jehan Petit).

Scaliger, Jos., in Pub. Virgilii Maronis Appendix, ed. 1, 1572 or 1573; ed. 2, with additional notes by Fr. Lindenbruch, 1595.

Le Clerc (Gorallus), *Aetna cum notis et interpretatione*. Amsterdam, ed. 1, 1703; ed. 2, 1715.

Wernsdorf, Lucilii Iunioris *Aetna* in 'Poetae Latini Minores,' iv. pp. 1-214. Altenburgi, 1785.

Jacob, F., with Latin notes and a translation in German hexameters. Leipzig, 1826.

Munro, H. A. J., *Aetna* revised, emended, and explained. Cambridge, 1867.

Sudhaus, S., *Aetna erklärt*. Leipzig, 1898.

TRANSLATIONS.

de Serionne, Paris, 1736, with the *Sententiae* of Publ. Syrus.

Schmid, C. A., Brunswick, 1769.

Meineke, I. H. F., Quedlinburg, 1819. I have not seen this.

Jacob, F., Leipzig, 1826.

Delutho, Paris, 1841. I have not been able to procure this.

Jacquot, in *Collection Nisard*. Paris, 1842.

Chenu, Jules, in *Bibliothèque Panckoucke*. Paris, 1845.

Sudhaus, Siegfried, Leipzig, 1898.

DISSERTATIONS BEFORE 1867.

1715. *Oudin, Père, S. J.*, *Réflexions sur un passage de Corneille Sévère*. *Journal des Savants*, lvii. p. 597 sqq.

1729. *Sévin, l'Abbé*, *Histoire de l'Académie des Inscriptions*, vol. v, p. 226.

1747. *Mencken, F. O.*, in *Miscell. Lips.* Nov. v. 137-160, 335-358.

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1755. *Struchtmeyer, J. I.*, *Obseruat. Critic. Libri ii*, pp. 1-27.
1756. *Cramer, Io. Christ.*, in *Act. Societ. Latin. Ienensis* v, pp. 3-6. Collation of the Gyraldinian variants.
1761. *Schrader, Io.*, *Obseruationum Liber*, p. 31. Also autograph notes from Berlin MS. Diez B. Santen 47, fol. 69, communicated to Bährens.
1764. *de Rooy, Anton*, *Coniecturae Criticae in Martialis libr. xiv. et P. Cornelii Seueri Aetnam. Traiecti ad Rhenum*.
1786. *Friesemann*, in *Collectan. Critica*, pp. 182-185.
1797. *Matthiae, F. C.*, in *Neue Bibliothek der schönen Wissenschaften*, vol. 59, pp. 311-327. New collation of the Gyraldinian variants. See also a programme published in 1822.
1804. *Suringar, G. T.*, *Spicilegia critica in Lucillii Iunioris poema de Aetna*. Twenty-four pages, including remarks by Wassenburg.
1827. *Peerlkamp, P. Hofman*, in *Bibl. Crit. Nov.* iii, pp. 241-254.
1828. *Sillig, C. Jul.*, in *Jahn's Jahrbücher*, pp. 140-160.
- These two are reviews of Jacob's edition of 1826.
1837. *Haupt, Moriz*, in *Quaestiones Catullianae*, pp. 54-68, and afterwards in a series of criticisms up to 1869. These will be found in Haupt's *Opuscula* (1875, 6). Haupt's text of *Aetna* is at the end of his miniature Vergil. In its latest form it was reviewed by Sauppe in the *Göttingen Gelehrte Anzeig.* for 1874.
1842. *Ritschl, F.*, in *Rhein. Mus.* for 1842, pp. 135, 6. First mention of the Cambridge MS (C).
1862. *Mähly, J.*, *Beiträge zur Kritik des Lehrgedichts Aetna*. Basel, 1862. Thirty-two pages.
- To these may be added, though later than 1867,
1889. *Damsté, P.*, *Mnemos.* xvii. A review of Munro's edition.

I must record my thanks to Father Ehrle, S.J., Librarian of the Vatican; Mr. W. Bliss, of the Vatican Archives; M. Omont, of the Bibliothèque Nationale of Paris; Mr. Jenkinson, Librarian of the University Library of Cambridge, for valuable assistance on questions of manuscript readings; to Prof. Postgate, of Trinity College, Cambridge, for important suggestions and corrections;

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to Mr. E. J. Webb of London, for his most kind communication to me on v. 234^b; to Prof. I. Bywater for advice on several points about which he allowed me to consult him, including a revision of the Preface; to Mr. F. Haverfield, Student of Christ Church, who examined the C. I. L. in my behalf; to Mr. David Nagel, Fellow of Trinity College, for direction on occasional questions of scientific diction; and to Mr. Walter Worrall, of Worcester College, for drawing up and revising in proof the Index of Words which completes the volume.

OXFORD,
June 15, 1901.

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C. 1990

1. The following information is taken from the financial statements of a company for the year ended 31 December 1990:	
Revenue	1000
Cost of sales	(400)
Operating expenses	(150)
Operating profit	450
Finance income	20
Finance costs	(10)
Profit before tax	460
Income tax	(100)
Profit after tax	360
Dividends paid	(100)
Retained profit	260

Required:

I

THE DATE OF 'AETNA'

THE earliest specific notice of the poem is in the Life of Vergil (ascribed to Donatus, but now generally believed to be by Suetonius). After mentioning the *Catalepton*, *Priapia*, *Epigrams*, *Dirae*, *Ciris*, *Culex*, Suetonius adds *scripsit etiam de qua ambigitur Aetnam*. A similar statement is found in Servius' Prolegomena to the Aeneid, but without the qualifying *de qua ambigitur*. It is also ascribed to Vergil in the oldest MS. Kk v. 34, in the University Library of Cambridge, written in the tenth century.

At the present time most critics are agreed that the poem could not be Vergil's. Yet the ascription to him should not be entirely overlooked. It proves that at a very early time it was ranked by some critics as belonging to the same category with poems either indubitably Augustan, like the *Ciris*, or belonging to an even anterior period, like the *Dirae* and *Catalepton*. Kruczkiewicz¹, therefore, who, on external grounds, as we shall see, has in our own day re-asserted the Vergilian authorship, and Alzinger, who

¹ In his dissertation *Poema de Aetna monte Vergilio auctori praecipue tribuendum*, published in pp. 143-169 of vol. x of *Rozprawy i sprawozdania z posiedzen wydzialu filologicznego Akademii uniwersyteckiej*, 1882 [Ac. 750/13 in Brit. Mus. Catalogue].

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pushes the date even further back, i.e., some little time after the eruption of Aetna in 49 B.C., can claim the support of a very ancient tradition, a tradition which, as it affects one poem of the series, the *Culex*, goes back to the age of Lucan, i.e., to the middle of the first century A.D. Such a tradition may be, and no doubt is, wrong in fathering on the author of the Georgics and Aeneid a series of poems which do not belong to him, but it cannot be put aside in considering the parentage and epoch of any one of them. It forms a presumption in favour, for all of them, of a date not far removed from the time of Vergil. Theories like that of Hildebrandt, who imagines our *Culex* to be made up of an original nucleus of ninety-six verses, which a later age expanded into more than four hundred, cannot be readily accepted in defiance of the ancient statement that Lucan¹ at an age little past boyhood read a *Culex*, which was then accepted as Vergil's. We may doubt whether Vergil was the actual author of the *Culex* we have, but it requires very strong arguments to prove that Lucan read a poem such as Hildebrandt leaves us, a mere fragment of an ultimate total four times as large, a fragment too arbitrarily marked off from its accretions, and not perceptibly different from them in style or metre. If Vergil did not write our *Culex*, it is still an easier hypothesis to maintain that it was the work of a contemporary, or at least of a poet not far removed from

¹ Lucan was born A. D. 39, died A. D. 65 (Heitland). The reference to the *Culex* is in the Life of Lucan ascribed to Suetonius, *praefatione quadam aetatem et initia sua cum Vergilio comparans ausus sit dicere 'et quantum mihi restat ad Culicem.'* Stat. S. ii. 7, 64, 74 says Lucan wrote his *Pharsalia*, *coepit generosior iuventa Ante annos Culicis Maroniani.*

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the Vergilian age. The tradition, observe, comes in two distinct forms, (1) a *Culex* is included in two ancient lists of opuscula ascribed to Vergil; (2) a *Culex* by Vergil was read and admired seventy years after his death by Lucan, then quite young.

We have then an *a priori* ground for believing that *Aetna*, like the *Culex* and other minor poems of the Appendix Vergiliana, belongs to the earlier period of Roman literature, and can hardly be much later than the middle of the first century A. D. Who was its author had begun to be asked as far back as the thirteenth century. Vincent of Beauvais († 1264) called both the *Culex* and *Aetna* apocryphal (*Spec. Hist.* vii. 62) and cites (xx. 25) *o maxima rerum pietas hominum tutissima uirtus* (*Aetn.* 631) as from Petronius, in which he is followed by Jacobus Magni († in the second decade of the fifteenth century), *Sopholog.* iv. 10 (Wernsd. p. 58; Bücheler, *Petronius*, p. 227). In a commentary on Cato's distichs, published in 1492 (Bodl. S. Selden, d. 16, fol. 191^b) vv. 74-84 are quoted and thus prefaced: *Virgilius aut quisquis autor est in carmine de Aethna*¹. In some MSS. of the fifteenth or early sixteenth century it is already ascribed to Cornelius Severus², the writer of a lost hexameter poem on the war with Sex. Pompeius in Sicily (Teuffel 247. 5), of whose style we have a favourable specimen in twenty-five hexameters on the death of Cicero, preserved by the elder Seneca (Suas. vi. 26, Burs.). The choice of Corn. Severus was determined, as Scaliger points out, by a passage in

¹ Lilius Gyraldus (*Historiae Poetarum*, iv. p. 572, ed. 1545) says he will not venture either to assert or deny its genuineness as a work of Vergil.

² So in Vat. 3272 and Munro's ζ.

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the seventy-ninth Epistle of the younger Seneca, where, talking of poetical descriptions of Etna, he says: 'this commonplace of poetry, even after it had been handled by Ovid, and more perfectly by Vergil, was fearlessly attempted again by Corn. Severus' (79. 5). Scaliger approved this ascription, and it was generally¹ accepted till Wernsdorf in the fourth volume of his *Poetae Latini Minores* (1785) proposed a new candidate. This was Lucilius Junior, the friend and correspondent of Seneca. Wernsdorf's view was admitted by Jacob in his edition of *Aetna* (1826), by Haupt, and by Munro (1867), and is the prevailing view of the present time. I must not omit to mention Caspar Barth's theory that it was written by Manilius.

Fifteen years after Munro's edition had appeared, a Hungarian named Kruckiewicz, published a dissertation, in which he rejected the theories of post-Augustan authorship. He reverts to the old belief that Vergil was the author of *Aetna*. Two of his arguments may be mentioned: (1) we know from Suetonius' Life that Vergil was often in Campania and Sicily, and must have had many opportunities of observing both Vesuvius and Aetna; (2) Apelles' picture of Venus Anadyomene, which the writer of *Aetna* (592-8) includes in the objects of art men travelled abroad to see,

¹ But not universally. Tanaquil Faber (Tannequi Le Fevre), on Sen. *Suasor.* ii. writes 'Huiusne Corn. Seueri sit carmen de Aetna quod Virgilio quidam tribuunt, dubitari potest.' Le Fevre also anticipates the view of Wernsdorf, Munro, and Wagler that the passage in Seneca's seventy-ninth Epistle refers, not to a separate poem on Aetna, but to an Episode. Caspar Barth was equally sceptical as to Corn. Severus (*Adv.* xxxii. 16), and at one time thought a Christian, at another Manilius, the author. See the citations in Wernsdorf, pp. 61-63.

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was transferred from Cos to Rome by Augustus, and dedicated in the temple of Julius. If it was in Rome, how could the poem speak of it as a work to be visited abroad?

More recently, Alzinger (*Studia in Aetnam Collata*, Fock, 1895) has re-affirmed this second argument. He shows that of the four works of art mentioned in the poem, the Venus of Apelles, the Medea of Timomachus, the Iphigenia of Timanthes, the Heifer of Myron¹, the first two and the last were removed to Rome, the Venus by Augustus, the Medea by Julius Caesar (who bought it in his dictatorship (Plin. 35. 26), with the same painter's Ajax, for 80 talents, and placed them both in the temple of Venus Genetrix), the Heifer, between the age of Cicero and Antoninus, it is not known exactly when. Proceeding to minuter detail, he goes on to show that the Venus which, when Cicero delivered his Verrine orations (70 B.C.), was at Cos, and which Augustus transferred to Rome (Suet. Vesp. 18), in the interval between that time and the reign of Nero, fell into decay², and was then replaced by a new picture from the hands of Dorotheus³ (Plin. 35. 91). We are thus placed in a double difficulty: if the author of *Aetna* lived during or not long after the era of Augustus, he should have known that the Venus was no longer in its native place, but in Rome; if he lived in or after the reign of Nero, he should, or at least might, have known that it was no longer in existence at all. This difficulty is intensi-

¹ Haupt, *Opusc.* ii. p. 165.

² 'Consenuit haec tabula carie aliamque pro ea substituit Nero principatu suo Dorothei manu.'

³ Miss Sellers, however (*Comment. on Pliny's Chapters on the History of Art*, p. 128), thinks it may have been still in existence under Vespasian (Suet. Vesp. 18).

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fied by the further mistake as to the Medea of Timomachus, which had been even longer in the capital, and must have been constantly spoken of, with its brother-picture, the Ajax, as one of two master-works by the same painter.

It was in the autumn of 46 B.C. that Caesar, after celebrating his quadruple triumph, and receiving the title of dictator, dedicated the temple of Venus Genitrix. Allowing, as is possible, that some little time may have elapsed before Timomachus' two pictures were moved to their position in front of the temple (Plin. 35. 26¹), we may fix the date before which *Aetna* must have been written at 44 B.C. But it must be later than the death of Lucretius, imitations of whose poem are specially numerous. It cannot be earlier, therefore, than 55 B.C. Between these two dates there was a great eruption of Aetna (as the combined evidence of Vergil, Livy, Petronius proves²), and shortly after this eruption Alzinger believes *Aetna* to have been written.

Our assigned dates thus range over a period of more than 100 years, taking 45 (or as Alzinger thinks 49) B.C. as the earliest limit and 79 A.D., when the fatal eruption of Vesuvius happened, as the extreme. For that eruption was by far the greatest exhibition of volcanic forces recorded

¹ Elsewhere (35. 136) he speaks of them as *in aede positas*. This seems due to Pliny's carelessness, and is less probable than the other account (Sellers, p. 92).

² Verg. G. i. 471-473. Petron. 122-135 *iamque Aetna uoratur Ignibus insolitis et in aethera fulmina mittit*. Serv. on G. i. 471 *ut dicit Liuius tanta flamma ante mortem Caesaris Aetna defluxit, ut non tantum uicinae urbes, sed etiam Rhegina ciuitas afflaretur*. Livy here seems to make the eruption of Aetna immediately precede the murder of Caesar in 44: Petronius, on the other hand, places it before the passage of the Rubicon in 49.

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in antiquity, and could not have been passed over in silence by our poet.

Kruczkiewicz' art argument, which has some force as a ground for the Augustan authorship of *Aetna*, loses much of its validity when pushed to its further consequences. For if the author of *Aetna* wrote before the Coan Venus was removed to Rome, he must also have written before the still earlier removal of the Medea, since travellers from Italy are described in the poem as visiting Greece and Asia to see *both*. But in shifting the date from Augustus to Julius or the years immediately following Julius' death, he lands us in critical difficulties of an insuperable kind. We have before us a poem not only written in a highly artificial style, but with a general dependence, alike in the structure of the hexameter and the choice and arrangement of words, on the author of the Georgics and Aeneid. If we follow Alzinger, the immediate predecessors of our poet were Catullus, Lucretius, and perhaps, for this also is uncertain, the author of the *Dirae*. In none of these, can any real resemblance to the style of *Aetna* be discovered. All of them agree in a common simplicity of style which may be best described as the language of poetry still incompletely developed; all of them have recurring peculiarities of metre which mark off the pre-Augustan period of Roman literature, and were either disused or used much more sparingly by Vergil and his successors. Thus Lucretius abounds in pentasyllabic endings *frugiferentis indupedita principiorum*. Catullus repeats to monotony the Ciceronian cadence *prognatae uertice pinus*, and the spondiazon preceded by a dactyl *Nereides admirantes, flagrantia declinauit, carmine compellabo*; the *Dirae*, as was remarked by Näge, in 113 lines, contains eight instances

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of the last dactyl elided before a bacchius, *libera auena, impia agellos, flumina amica, aduena arator, crimina agelli, Battare auena, gaudia habetis, ludere in herba*¹.

X Näke, in his edition of the *Dirae* and *Lydia*, has noted as characteristic features of the older poetry before the rise of Vergil, two points which may be mentioned here: (1) repetition of the same word or the same types of expression at short intervals; (2) the connective use of *qui*, e. g. Cul. 143 *Quis aderat ueteris myrtus non nescia fati*, 168 *ecfert Sublimi ceruice caput: cui crista superne Edita purpureo lucens maculatur amictu*. Of these the second is only found twice in *Aetna* (400, 436): the first, though, from the poet's tendency to return again and again to the description of the same phenomena or the enforcement of the same reasonings, there is some unavoidable recurrence of similar or even identical words, cannot be said to obtrude itself in any marked degree.

X But it is not only the absence of early simplicities; it is far more the uniform presence of an artificial mannered and rhetorical form which makes the pre-Vergilian date of *Aetna* impossible. One example will suffice, vv. 85-93:—

Nec tu, terra, satis: speculantur numina diuum
Nec metuunt oculos alieno admittere caelo.
Norunt bella deum, norunt abscondita nobis
Coniugia, et falsa quotiens sub imagine peccet
Taurus in Europen, in Laedam candidus ales,
Iuppiter, ut Danaae pretiosus fluxerit imber:
Debita carminibus libertas ista, sed omnis
In uero mihi cura; canam quo feruida motu
Aestuet Aetna, nouosque rapax sibi congerat ignes.

¹ I say nothing of Varro Atacinus, the fragments of whose poems, though a much closer approximation to the style and rhythm of Vergil, are too scanty to admit of a satisfactory estimate, and themselves of very uncertain date.

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Notice, first, the rhetorical cast of the language throughout. Reduced to prose, the meaning is this: 'Poets are not contented with inventing a fictitious under-world in the bowels of the earth: they pretend to know the secrets of heaven and invent imaginary amours for the gods. Such licence is not for me: my poem shall deal with truth only, with the real phenomena of Aetna, and the true account of its convulsions.'

X To bring into relief this antithesis of earth and heaven, our poet personifies and apostrophizes earth. *Nec tu, Terra, satis*. This is not only an artifice, but an artifice of the rhetorical schools. Equally artificial is the double *norunt*, each time the first word of its clause; the change of construction from the direct accusative *coniugia*, to the verbal clauses *quotiens peccet Iuppiter* and *ut fluxerit*, the chiasmus in the words *Taurus in Europen, in Laedam candidus ales*. The last three lines are even more markedly late; the variety of the pauses, (1) after the second syllable of the fifth foot *libertas ista: sed omnis*; (2) after the trochee in the third foot *In uero mihi cura*; (3) after the trochee in the second foot *Aestuet Aetna*; would have been impossible in Catullus, not indeed in isolated specimens, but in consecutive lines. As Mr. Heitland¹ says, it was reserved for Vergil to clear up the problem, painfully felt in Cicero's hexameters, and only partially solved by Lucretius and Catullus, how to adapt a metre natural and easy in the dactylic language of Greece to the heavier and more spondaic cadences of Latin. But when once the Eclogues, and later the Georgics, had settled that question, it was not difficult to follow the lead of the master, or even to invent improvements upon him.

¹ *Cambridge Journal of Philology*, xxvi. p. 2.

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This leads me to another point which Alzinger's collection of parallels, and more recently Sudhaus' dissertation, bring into conspicuous prominence. *Aetna* exhibits a number of coincidences in diction not only with the *de Rerum Natura*, but also with the Eclogues, Georgics, and Aeneid. This ground, as is well known, is very dangerous and must be trodden with extreme caution. Close agreements of language are common in poets of diverse epochs, especially at the end of a verse, and are only now and then proofs of conscious imitation. For instance, no one could safely infer from the occurrence in *Aetna* of the Vergilian combination *leuem stipulam* (Aetn. 355, G. i. 85) that one of the two copied the other: nor, because Vergil twice ends a line with *maxima rerum* (Aen. vii. 602, ix. 279), is it safe to infer either that the author of *Aetna* had the Aeneid before him when he wrote 631 *o maxima rerum Et merito pietas homini tutissima uirtus*, or that Vergil borrowed from *Aetna* one of its happier dictions. It is only when the coincidence is of a marked kind that it becomes an argument of any value, and even then it is too often uncertain.

The three words *Felix illa dies* are found four times at the beginning of a hexameter in four different poems written in the compass of a single century.

Ciris 27 *Felix illa dies, felix et dicitur annus.*

Laus Pisonis 159 *Felix illa dies totumque canenda per orbem.*

Manil. v. 569 *Felix illa dies redeuntem ad litora duxit.*

Aetna 635 *Felix illa dies, illa est innoxia terra.*

Putting aside *Aetna*, the other three poems range from the latter part of Augustus' principate to the principate of Caligula or Claudius. But, though the fourfold coincidence is too striking to be accidental, though one of the poets,

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perhaps the author of the *Ciris*, was almost certainly the source from which the others borrowed, no argument of any real weight can be drawn from a fact which admits of so many possible explanations.

Approaching then in this tentative way the more remarkable coincidences of diction accumulated by Alzinger, and never forgetting that Alzinger himself believes that Vergil borrowed from *Aetna* what most critics believe *Aetna* to have copied from Vergil, I shall attempt to show that the latter and ordinarily accepted is also the more likely view.

Manifesta fides.

Aetn. 177 *Aetna sui manifesta fides et proxima uero est.*

Aen. ii. 309 *Tum uero manifesta fides.*

Aen. iii. 375 *Auspiciis manifesta fides.*

Vergil, like Livy vi. 13, uses the words='a clear proof': the combination, from its use by two writers of such authority, became stereotyped and the author of *Aetna* does not scruple to make a genitive depend on *fides*. 'Aetna is a clear voucher of itself,' i.e. of its own workings. It is doubtful whether this would have been legitimate in a writer of the best Augustan period.

Aetn. 297 *Quae tenuem impellens animam subremigat unda.*

Aen. x. 225-7:

Cymodocea

Pone sequens dextra puppim tenet, ipsaque dorso

Eminet ac laeua tacitis *subremigat undis.*

Here, again, we can have little doubt that Vergil is the model, not the copyist. The sea-nymph's right hand holds the stern, her left 'oars her passage through the silent water'.¹ The expression is felicitous and exactly describes

¹ Mackail.

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the action of Cymodocea's one disengaged hand. It is less apt when transferred to the action of air by which the water of a hydraulic organ is set in motion.

Aetn. 608 Et nitidum obscura caelum caligine torquet.

G. i. 467 Cum caput obscura nitidum ferrugine textit.

The two passages seem mutually dependent; but the first is obscure and not easily intelligible: the latter aptly describes the aspect of mourning which the sun assumed before the murder of Caesar. It is a reasonable inference that the finer passage suggested the weaker, and that the master-work of Rome's greatest poet was the source whence the unknown versifier drew his inspiration.

The same may be said of locutions recognizably Vergilian, but in themselves violent and only admitted as part of the available stock of poetic diction from the acknowledged supremacy of the master, e.g. *se rumpere* = to burst forth, applied in the first Georgic to rays of the sun (i. 445 *densa inter nubila sese Diuorsi rumpent radii*), in the Aeneid to a storm of rain (xi. 548 *tantus se nubibus imber Ruperat*), in *Aetna* to outbursts of volcanic flame (361 *Ardentesque simul flammas ac fulmina rumpunt*).

Or, again, of combinations like *terque quaterque* (G. ii. 399, Aen. i. 94, iv. 589, xii. 155), borrowed by Vergil from Homer, and imitated thenceforward by successive poets indiscriminately.

We have besides an external testimony of no mean weight to assist our judgment on the point. Macrobius, in the long list of Roman poets from whom Vergil borrowed ideas, words, or grammatical peculiarities, in which some of the greatest and some of the smallest names are included, Ennius, Afranius, Pacuvius, Accius, Hostius, Suetius, Lucre-

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tius, Catullus, Calvus, Cinna, Cornificius, Egnatius, Laberius, Varius, nowhere quotes anything from *Aetna*. Yet, if *subremigat undis* had come into the Aeneid from *Aetna*, it is sufficiently remarkable to have been mentioned among the more notable of Vergil's debts.

Whatever, then, the explanation of the historical difficulty started by Kruczkiewicz and based on Aetn. 592-598—where the poet mentions four leading masterpieces of Greek art and proceeds to say that men travelled over land and sea to visit them—the inference drawn from it by Alzinger must be pronounced untenable. *Aetna* cannot be pre-Vergilian.

Vergil died in 19 B.C., and the Aeneid must have been published shortly after. The principate of Augustus lasted on to A.D. 14, thirty-two years later (735-767), and the question now confronts us in a new shape.

IS 'AETNA' AUGUSTAN?

Putting aside the question about the works of art, there are some considerations which favour an Augustan date.

1. There are no genitives in *-ii* like *imperii*. The poet of *Aetna* has *silenti* (220), *incendi*, the latter three times (415, 439, 566). After Vergil the genitive in *-ii* became common, as in Propertius and the works of Ovid, especially the *Metamorphoses*, *Tristia*, and *Epistles from Pontus*. Phaedrus has *pretii*, *iurgii*, *luscinii*¹. Lucan² has *-ii* regularly, and even Petronius in his poem on the Civil War has *imperii* (243). On the other hand Grattius³, in his highly-finished *Cyne-*

¹ L. Havet, *Phaed.*, p. 218, § 94.

² Heitland, p. cii of Haskins' *Lucan*.

³ Lachmann on *Lucr.* v. 1036.

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getica, has only three instances in 540 vv., *plagii*, *Latii* (24, 18, 38). Manilius 'according to Lachm. Lucr. v. 1006), the Panegyrist of Piso, and Persius, avoid it; a proof that individual caprice ruled in the matter long after the Augustan era. Still it is true that this form in *-ii* marks the later period of Latin literature, and that its complete absence from a poem of more than 640 vv. is slightly against a silver-age authorship.

2. Of three points of metric increasingly observable in post-Ovidian poets, (a) one is not found in *Aetna*, ð in nominatives singular and pres. indic. of verbs. (b) The pause after a dactyl ending the fourth foot like *Ipse suo flueret Bacchus pede, mellaque lentis* 13, *Lentitiem plumbi non exiit? ipsaque ferri* 542, which is exceptional in Vergil, frequent in Ovid's *Metamm.*, not uncommon in Grattius, a marked rhythm in Petronius, and thenceforward (perhaps with the exception of Lucan) a favourite metrical form in hexameter writers, especially Val. Flaccus and Statius, is quite exceptional in *Aetna*. If I have counted rightly, the average is 1 in 49 vv. (c) The Vergilian rhythm *Sufficit umorem et grauidas cum uomere fruges* G. ii. 424, in which the first foot is self-complete, and the second elided before the third, did not please the later Augustan poets and was avoided with care. It occurs, though very rarely, in *Aetna*, 187, 477.

These points are rather in favour of an early, possibly an Augustan, date: and both Bährens and Sudhaus hold this view.

Such a date would also fall in with the ascription to Vergil, which *Aetna* shares with the *Culex*, *Ciris* and *Moretum*; such an ascription pointing to a time not long removed from Vergil's death in 19 B. C.

3. *Aetna* is known to have been in a state of disturbance

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in the last year of the war with Sex. Pompeius in Sicily 36 B. C. Appian says (B. C. v. 117) there were loud rumblings and terrifying bellowings (μυκήματα) from Aetna, and that a lava-flood was apprehended.

It would be an idle speculation to fix on any particular name among the recorded versifiers of the later Augustan period. Both Messalla and Valgius are known to have mentioned the mountain, and Seneca states that each of them had called Aetna unique (Sen. Epist. 51. 1 *tu istic habes Aetnam, illum nobilissimum Siciliae montem, quem quare dixerit Messalla unicum, siue Valgius, apud utrumque enim legi, non reperi*). But though Messalla wrote Greek verses (Catalepton ix. (xi.) 13, 14¹), and is mentioned by Pliny (Ep. v. 3. 5) as a writer of trifles in verse, it is not likely that so considerable a poem as *Aetna* would have been published without his name; nor are the short extant fragments of Valgius in any way like the set style of our poem. Among the poets whom Ovid mentions in the last of his Pontic Epistles, he names a *Trinacrius* (Pont. iv. 16. 25), author of a *Perseis*. If it could be shown that *Perseis*¹ = *Titānis* = *Aetna*, we might imagine that Trinacrius wrote on his own Sicilian Titan-child, Aetna: but the ambiguity of the word *Trinacrius* (which Osann has not *proved* to be a real name) hardly admits of so daring a

¹ For *Perses* was a Titan (Apollod. i. 2. 2), and *Perseis* might thus without much forcing = *Titanis*, the daughter of a Titan. Such a title would well suit Aetna. According to one legend, Briareos was imprisoned in Aetna: this is only another mode of suggesting the same idea, the Titanic forces of the volcano. It is of course also possible that Trinacrius wrote on *Hecate* (*Perseis*): he might still be the writer of a different poem on Aetna. Ovid (Ib. 597) makes *Trinacrius* = Sicilian. *Aut ut Trinacrius, salias super ora gigantis, Plurima qua flammas Sicanis Aetna uomit, where Trinacrius* is Empedocles.

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conjecture, and the name *Perseis*¹ nowhere occurs in our extant *Aetna*.

THE WERNSDORFIAN VIEW: 'AETNA' WAS WRITTEN BY LUCILIUS JUNIOR.

Lucilius Junior was the friend and correspondent of the younger Seneca, to whom all Seneca's Epistles were addressed. He was procurator of Sicily at the time this correspondence was going on. It was the 79th Epistle which led Wernsdorf to his theory. The first half of this letter is a request that Lucilius would utilize a circuit, which he was then making of the island, to inform Seneca more exactly of the facts about Scylla, Charybdis, and Mount Aetna. 'I ask you, in compliment to myself, to ascend Aetna. Is it true that its height has diminished, as may well be from the cessation of the strong fires and copious smoke it sometimes discharges? Let me know how far distant from the crater is the snow on the summit, which neither summer nor fire melts. Not that I need *ask* you to do this: your own fondness would prompt you of itself. I ² wager anything you will be describing Aetna in your poem and trying your hand on this commonplace of verse. Vergil's consummate picture did not frighten Ovid from handling this subject: Corn. Severus attempted it in spite of both. Besides it has succeeded with everybody; and those who came first, instead of forestalling their successors, have acted as their pioneers. But it makes no small difference, whether you find the material used up or only prepared

¹ See the Excursus which follows this chapter.

² Reading with Rubenius *Quid tibi do ne Aetnam describas in tuo carmine, n: hunc sollemnem omnibus poetis locum attingas?*

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for your purpose ; for indeed it is constantly increasing, and past discoveries do not stand in the way of future. Again, the last comer fares best : he finds the words ready to his hand ; he has but to arrange them differently and they assume a new shape. Nor is he appropriating what is not his own : they are common property. Unless I am much mistaken in you, Aetna is making your mouth water : you are longing already to write something fine, to rival former efforts.'

I do not agree with those who, like Munro, Wagler, and Sudhaus, consider this passage to mean nothing more than that Seneca urges his correspondent to introduce into some poem he was writing a short description of Aetna. From the words of Seneca, *Aetnam describas in tuo carmine*, it is clear that Lucilius had spoken of a poem he was engaged upon. As he was then making a circuit of Sicily, he might naturally weave into this poem a description of some of its curiosities : of these Aetna would be one ; encouraged by Seneca's letter, stimulated by his own scientific ardour, he would make the ascent of the mountain (if he had not done so already), then set to work to describe what he had seen, at first perhaps as a mere episode in his poem, afterwards, as the subject grew in its largeness more fully upon him, as a separate work, of which the one argument was the marvellous volcano. Our *Aetna* would thus be a circumstantial reply to Seneca's appeal : indeed the care with which he forestalls any objections that Lucilius might urge on the ground of difficulties in language or terminology hardly suits a short episode, but is well adapted to a detailed description involving scientific nomenclature and possible argumentation of an elaborate kind. We know from Seneca's own words that Lucilius

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wrote poems, and on Sicilian subjects. N. Q. iii. 1. 1 a verse of his is quoted—

Elisus Siculis de fontibus exsilit amnis.

N. Q. iii. 26 Seneca refers to a poem by Lucilius on Arethusa; N. Q. iv. 2 he calls him 'my poet' (*quare non cum poeta meo iocor et illi Ovidium suum inpingo?*), and three other lines of his are cited in the Epistles. Of these we should have known nothing but for their accidental preservation by Seneca. It is therefore no improbable hypothesis that a similar oblivion may have fallen on him as writer of our poem *Aetna*.

2. This may be stated in another way. If an elaborate Latin poem of more than 600 lines, sufficiently finished to be ascribed at some period before Donatus (i.e. Suetonius) to Vergil, was in circulation in the later years of Augustus, and known to Seneca (750-818=4 B.C.-65 A.D.) either as a young man or in middle age, i.e. in the reigns of Tiberius (14-37), Caligula (37-41), Claudius (41-54), is it likely that he would wholly have ignored it when writing to Lucilius on this very subject in the reign of Nero? This argument becomes stronger when we remember that Seneca, in the passage quoted above from Epist. 79, is speaking of poetical, not prose, descriptions of the volcano. Lucilius is to ascend Aetna and observe with his own eyes what he is then to describe in his promised poem. But if our *Aetna* was already familiarly known, or if it was known at all, how could it escape either Seneca or Lucilius, both of them poets, both, which is more to our purpose, keen explorers of natural phenomena? For of all the rare descriptions, not merely of Aetna, but of any similar object of nature (including under this term everything which our

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earth contains, sea, lake, river, mountain, cavern, cascade, prairie, volcano) which have descended to us from antiquity, this poem is by far the most elaborate in details, by far the most scientific, in its purpose and its reasoning. And, whether it was in repute as a successful attempt on the lines of Lucretius, or under condemnation for its over-minuteness and prosaic insistence on matters little congenial to a public trained by Ovid, such as the character of the lava-stone, and its appearance under different circumstances ; in either case, known as it must have been (on the hypothesis of Augustan authorship) to a man so perfectly acquainted with all the literature, and especially all the scientific literature of his country as Seneca, he could hardly have passed it over in absolute silence. Was it recognized as a success? It might supply words for a new attempt. If it was thought tiresome, Lucilius, remembering this, would be less anxious about his own possible failure. If we may trust Seneca's own intimation, Lucilius was enamoured of the subject, and was longing to compose something fine that might rival his predecessors, Vergil, Ovid, and Corn. Severus (*saluam mouet: cupis grande aliquid et par prioribus scribere*).

3. Let us now assume the counter-hypothesis, that *Aetna* was not known to Seneca at the time he wrote Epist. 79. Is there anything in the poem which makes Wernsdorf's ascription of it to Lucilius more than probable?

In answer to this, we may say that a close connexion between *Aetna* and Seneca's works, particularly the *Natural Questions*, is traceable, not indeed in the cast of the language (for Seneca's style, like Emerson's, is not easily imitable, and the language of poetry is not the language of prose), but in the speculations with which both of the friends were concerned, the style of their reasoning, the

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elevated moral tone common to both, and the agreement in particular words.

Speaking generally, the subjects treated by Seneca in his seven books of *Natural Questions* are just those which the poet of *Aetna* dwells upon in the finest of his digressions, 223 sqq. *Non oculis solum pecudum miranda tueri More*, as at once the noblest objects of intellectual effort and its highest reward, the investigation of natural objects, the various phenomena of earth, sea, sky. But there are points in which they approximate far more closely; of these the most marked are the important function of *spirit* (*spiritus*) in producing subterranean disturbance; the hollow and cavernous formation of the unseen earth below our feet, without which the *spiritus* would have no room to move; and the appeal to the sudden emergence and disappearance of rivers as a proof of such cavernous formation.

The first of these points is the most important, and I may claim the not inconsiderable merit of having recalled¹ attention to it by my defence of the MS. reading of a v. of *Aetna* which a long line of critics, from Scaliger to Haupt, Munro, and Wagler, had altered as unmeaning.

Aetn. 212 Spiritus inflatis nomen, languentibus aer.

In this line the two conditions of imprisoned air, in tension or in subsidence, are contrasted: the former is called *spirit*, the latter *air*. And the word in this sense of air in a tense state is emphasized in other passages of the poem.

With this compare the following passages from Seneca. N. Q. ii. 1 *spiritus aer sit agitatus*. ii. 6 *quid est quod magis credatur ex se ipso habere intentionem quam spiritus?* To

¹ *Journal of Philology*, xvi. 301.

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such a tense¹ state of imprisoned air he ascribes the terrific phenomena of earthquakes and volcanos.

N. Q. ii. 26, speaking of rocks thrown out by volcanic agency, he says *deinde saxa euoluta rupesque partim inlaesae quas spiritus antequam urerentur expulerat*.

vi. 10. Anaximenes said that when subterranean ground gives way and falls in, it is owing either to its being loosened by moisture, eaten away by fire, or shaken off by the violence of *spirit*.

vi. 12. Most authorities are agreed that *spirit* is the moving cause in earthquakes and similar disturbances. *Venti in concaua terrarum deferuntur. deinde ubi omnia iam spatia plena sunt et in quantum aer potuit densatus est, is qui superuenit spiritus priorem premit et elidit, ac frequentibus plagis primo cogit, deinde perturbat*. Compare with this passage Aetn. 322 sqq.

Haud secus adstrictus certamine tangitur ictu
Spiritus, inuoluensque suo sibi pondere uires,
Densa per arduos exercet corpora gyros,
Et quacumque iter est, properat, transitque morantem,
Donec confluuium ueluti siphonibus actus
Exilit, atque furens tota uomit igneus Aetna.

I will quote one more passage of the N. Q. vi. 21 *Nobis quoque placet hunc spiritum esse qui possit tanta conari, quo nihil est in rerum natura potentius, nihil acrius, sine quo nec illa quidem quae uehementissima sunt, ualent*.

It would seem from the combined use which both writers, the philosopher and the poet, make of *spiritus*, in this restricted sense of air in a tense or inflated state, that it approaches the meaning of our 'gas,' though I shrink from

¹ On the ancient, specially Stoic, conception of the tension of air, see J. S. Reid, cited by Heitland, *Classical Review* for 1901, p. 80.

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following Sudhaus in using this very modern word as a safe equivalent. *Spiritus* has indeed the subtlety, fineness, and perhaps elasticity of gas; but it does not connote anything inflammable. When spirit commands, fire obeys; fire follows the lead of spirit and fights under its direction, as the poet says 216, 217.

That the earth is not solid, but full of cavities giving free room for the movement of air and wind, is a point much insisted on by the poet of *Aetna*.

96 Non totum ex solido est, ducit namque omnis hiatum,
Secta est omnis humus, penitusque cauata latebris
Exiles suspensa uias agit.

He compares it, from this point of view, with the body through which the blood passes to and fro along the veins, and again with a heap of stones casually accumulated, the interstices in which correspond to the cracks and pores in the earth's fabric.

105: et qualis aceruus
Exilit inparibus iactis ex tempore saxis,
Vt crebro introrsus spatio uacuata charybdis
Pendeat in sese, similis quoque terra figurae
In tenuis laxata uias, non omnis in artum
Nec stipata coit.

Very close to these is N. Q. v. 14 *Non tota solido contextu terra in imum usque fundatur, sed multis partibus caua et caecis suspensa latebris.*

Again (N. Q. .iii. 8. 1), Seneca says, some believe that the earth contains hollow recesses and a great deal of air (*spiritus*). N. Q. .iii. 16. 4 'Believe that the ground below has everything found in the earth above. There too are huge caverns, vast recesses, spaces left free by the suspension of mountains on either side. There may be found

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chasms descending sheer into the abyss, the frequent receivers of cities that have fallen into their bosom, and burying deep underground a vast mass of ruin. These spaces are full of air.'

Very noticeable in this passage is the argument from the analogy of the world we see to the unseen world underground. This is exactly what our poet enjoins, 145

Occultamque fidem manifestis abstrahe rebus,
and on which he concludes from the existence of yawning spaces and far receding caverns in the visible surface of the earth to similar phenomena below (137 sqq.).

Thirdly, the poet of *Aetna* argues from the sudden emergence and disappearance of rivers to the porous nature of the ground: for if earth were solid, river-waters would find no channel. This too is a point which had struck the attention of Seneca, N. Q. vi. 7. 2 *Deinde tot fontes, tot capita fluminum subitos et ex occulto amnes uomentia*. vi. 8. 2 *Age, cum uides interruptum Tigrim in medio itinere siccari et non uniuersum auerti, sed paulatim non adparentibus damnis minui primum, deinde consumi, quo illum putas abire nisi in obscura terrarum, utique cum uideas emergere iterum non minorem eo, qui prior fluxerat?*

Other points of close agreement are the contrast which both writers draw between the sublime works of nature and the far inferior operations of man.

Aetn. 598 sqq.

Haec uisenda putas terra dubiusque marique.
Artificis naturae ingens opus aspice: nulla
Tu tanta humanae plebis spectacula cernes.

N. Q. vi. 4. 2 *Quod, inquis, erit pretium operae? quo nullum maius est, nosse naturam. neque enim quicquam habet in se huius materiae tractatio pulchrius, cum multa*

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habeat futura usui, quam quod hominem magnificentia sui detinet, nec mercede, sed miraculo colitur.

Common again to both is the complaint against human avarice in ransacking the bowels of the earth to make it reveal its secrets and give up its gold.

Aetn. 257, 258 (278, 279):

Scrutamur rimas et uertimus omne profundum,
Quaeritur argenti semen, nunc aurea uena.

N. Q. v. 15. 2 *intellexi saeculum nostrum non nouis uitis sed iam inde antiquitus traditis laborare nec nostra aetate primum auaritiam uenas terrarum lapidumque rimam in tenebris male abstrusa quaesisse.*

Compare, again, the lengthy passage of *Aetna* describing the inflammable substances within the volcano, beginning 386 :

illis uernacula causis
Materia adpositumque igni genus utile terraest.
Vritur assidue calidus nunc sulphuris umor,
Nunc spissus crebro praebetur alumine sucus.
Pingue bitumen adest et quidquid comminus acris
Irritat flammis : illius corporis Aetna est.

with N. Q. v. 14. 3 *illud uero manifestum est magnam esse sub terris uim sulphuris et aliorum non minus ignem alentium.*

I proceed to more minute points of contact between the two writers. The most noticeable of these are (1) the use of water-pressure to produce sound, Aetn. 292-297, N. Q. ii. 6. 5 *quae aquarum pressura maiorem sonitum formant*, (2) of *sipones* to force water upwards, Aetn. 326, N. Q. ii. 16 *aquam compressa utrimque palma in modum siponis exprimere.*

Wernsdorf made much use of this argument from the trumpeting Triton and the water-organ to prove that

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Aetna was written late. Suetonius mentions the emperor Claudius¹ as employing the Triton in a spectacular naumachia exhibited on lake Fucinus², Nero as spending the greater part of a day in examining and exhibiting hydraulic organs of a new make, engaging to bring them before the notice of the public, and promising himself to play one in the theatre (Ner. 41, 54).

The fact of these two mechanical contrivances being combined in the poem certainly points to both being familiarly known at the time; nor is the force of Wernsdorf's reasoning much weakened by the circumstance that several centuries before the mathematician Heron³ had described successively both the trumpeting Triton and the water-organ. And if Cicero⁴ tells us that the water-organ was sometimes listened to in the last years of his life (Tusc. Disp. iii. 18), this goes for little against the coincident testimony of Seneca and Suetonius as to its being a *prevailing fashion* of the Claudian and Neronian era (Sen. Ep. 84. 10, 87. 12, 13).

I must not omit a special episode of *Aetna* which is common to the poet and Seneca, the story of the Catinaean brothers, whose piety saved their parents from perishing by the fires of the volcano. Seneca twice mentions this tale, both times in the *De Beneficiis* ii. 37 *Vicere Siculi iuvenes cum Aetna maiore vi peragitata in urbes, in agros, in*

¹ Claud. 21.

² The words of Suetonius (Claud. 21) *emissurus Fucinum lacum naumachiam ante commissi* most naturally refer to the time when the artificial channel of the *emissarium* was completed, but not yet in action. The channel took eleven years to construct (Suet. Claud. 20): the naumachia would thus fall in 52 A. D. only two years before the accession of Nero. Cf. Smilda on Suet. Claud. 21.

³ Munro.

⁴ Alzinger.

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magnam insulae partem effudisset incendium, uexerunt parentes suos. discessisse creditum est ignes et utrimque flamma recedente limitem adapertum, per quem transcurrerent iuuenes dignissimi qui magna tuto auderent. Again in vi. 36. 1. The resemblances in the first of these passages to our poem are marked.

Aetn. 609 Ardebant *agris* segetes et mollia cultu
Iugera cum dominis, siluae collesque rubebant.

631 O maxima rerum
 Et merito *pietas* homini *tutissima* uirtus !
 Erubuere pios iuuenes attingere flammae,
 Et quacumque ferunt illi uestigia, cedunt.

It is believed¹ that the *Natural Questions* belong to the last period of Seneca's life, A. D. 62-65. Now in the description of himself which Seneca places in Lucilius' mouth in the preface to B. iv. (§ 14) *quamquam paupertas alia suaderet et ingenium eo duceret, ubi praesens studii pretium est, ad gratuita carmina me deflexi et ad salutare studium philosophiae me contuli*, Lucilius is represented as saying he had written poems not for any gain they might bring him, but prompted by pure love of the subject. No better description of such a poem as *Aetna* could be imagined: it is in the truest sense a *gratuitum carmen*: few would be likely to read, fewer still to praise it. Whatever reward it brought its author would be of an unsubstantial kind, the consciousness of a laborious task well performed, or the praise of the few critics who cared for its minute scientific description, or felt the poet's enthusiasm in the rare moments when he is really fine.

This indeed is mere theory; but the point is new and

¹ Teuffel, 272. 2.

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deserves consideration. If it is true, we must suppose *Aetna* to have been published after Seneca's seventy-ninth epistle, and before the completion of the Fourth Book of the *Natural Questions*¹.

I do not think there is anything in the diction of the poem which contravenes this view. The most noticeable specialities are *effumare* 499, *succernere* to sift off 495, *lentities* 542, *commurmurare* 299. Of these *succernere* is found in Cato and Pliny the Elder, *commurmurare* in Silius Italicus. But on such a point I know no opinion to which greater weight can be ascribed than that of our own countryman, H. A. J. Munro, who, in his edition of *Aetna* published in 1867, declares (p. 35) that he 'cannot anyhow believe it to be older than the silver age.'

We have then two hypotheses before us, neither of them improbable in itself, (1) that *Aetna* was written by some author unknown not long after the death of Vergil, which would better agree with its being ascribed, like the *Culex* and *Ciris*, to him; (2) that it is a poem of the later Claudian or early Neronian era, and may plausibly be assigned to Lucilius Junior, the philosophical friend and correspondent of the younger Seneca, with whose works and, in particular, the seven books of *Natural Questions*, it shows a close and very intimate agreement.

The difficulty raised by Kruckiewicz and Alzinger on the ground of art applies to both hypotheses. Two of the three works referred to in the poem as drawing visitors

¹ It has been observed by Sudhaus that, in the Preface to the Fourth Book of the N. Q. § 10, Seneca uses the rare combination *ingenium consecrare*. If the Gyraldinus may be trusted, as most critics believe, this is the very language of *Aetna* 226 *Ingenium sacrare caputque attollere caelo*, a verse which our extant MSS. give corruptly *Sacra per ingentem capitique attollere caelum*.

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from beyond sea were actually in Rome, the Venus from some period in the reign of Augustus, the Medea from the dictatorship of Julius Caesar. It is difficult to believe that any writer living under Augustus should have ignored a fact which the imperial policy would have made a familiar topic of conversation. On the other hand one of the two works, the Venus, fell into decay towards the middle of the first century A. D. and was replaced by a new picture in the reign of Nero. It might be said, therefore, that, as it was no longer in existence, a writer of that time might either not know that it had ever been in Rome, or at least safely ignore the fact that it had been. This is, so far, rather in favour of the later hypothesis. But it must not be forgotten that the three works are spoken of vaguely as Greek pictures or statues, which arrest the eyes, and with the indeterminate *nunc—nunc—nunc* which would suit works selected as typical specimens of high art; and that not only has Cicero (Verr. ii. 4. 135) combined the three as world-famed types, but Ovid (Trist. ii. 525-7) in an elegy written after his exile to Tomoe, mentions Ajax, Medea, and the Venus Anadyomene as the commonest subjects for house-painting.

EXCURSUS ON 'PERSEIS.'

Freeman in his Excursus on the Palici (*Hist. of Sicily* i. pp. 517-530) cites a passage from the so-called Clementine Homilies (Migne, vol. ii. p. 183), in which the writer, in a list of the amours of Zeus, after mentioning Eurymedusa, from whom was born Myrmidon, continues thus—(συνῆλθεν Ζεὺς) Ἑρσαίου νύμφῃ γενόμενος γῆψ, ἐξ ἧς οἱ ἐν Σικελίᾳ πάλαι σοφοί.

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The only two MSS. of the Clementine Homilies known, the Codex Parisinus, edited by Cotelier in 1672, and the Cod. Vaticanus (Ottoboni 443), collated by Dressel and published in 1853, both agree in Ἐρσαίου and πάλαι σοφοί. The latter words were emended by Cotelier, doubtless rightly, Παλικοί, or perhaps Παλισκοί. The former passage has been unsatisfactorily tried by Dressel: Wieseler conj. Θαλεία τῇ καὶ Αἰτνῇ τῇ Ἠφαίστου, νύμφῃ. Freeman, p. 526, asks, with good reason, 'What is meant by Ἐρσαίου νύμφῃ?' and rejects Cotelier's suggestions that it is an error for ἑρσαία, 'nymph of dew,' or χερσαία = *terrestri*, Aetna having been buried underground.

It seems not impossible that Ἐρσαίου is a corruption of Περσαίου. The Titan Perses, whence *Perseis* is formed, is called Περσαῖος in the Homeric Hymn to Demeter 24; and it is no violent conjecture to suppose that he was sometimes represented as the father, not only of Hecate (the usual signification of *Perseis*), but of *Aetna*.

There is a Latin parallel to the above passage of the Clementine Homilies in the *Recognitiones* ascribed to Clement but really by Rufinus, Migne, vol. i. p. 1432. This is written in two Oxford MSS. Trin. 60 (saec. xi), and Bodl. Rawl. C. 660 (xiii), thus:—

Eurimides amacelai mutatus in formicam . ex qua nascuntur mirmidon . thalian . aecnea nimpham mutatus in uulturem ex qua nascitur apud Siciliam paliseu. *Rawl.*

amacelai. *Trin.* mirmidon (without .) *Trin.* thalian ac nea nimpam *Trin.* uulturem . *Trin.*

Reduced to intelligible Latin, this is—

Eurimedesam Acelai (Acheloi) [stuprat] mutatus in formicam, ex qua nascitur Myrmidon: Thalian Aetneam¹ nympham mutatus in uulturem, ex qua nascitur apud Siciliam Palicus (?)

¹ Unger conj. Thalian et Aetnam nympham: I think, wrongly.

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This makes the mother of the Palici Thalia, an Aetnean nymph. Macrobius (v. 18. 18) knows her only as *nympha Thalia* with no mention of Aetna. But in other, and earlier, accounts, Palicus is the son, not of an Aetnean nymph, but of Aetna herself; thus Servius on Aen. ix. 581 *Aetnam nympham, uel ut quidam uolunt Thaliām, Iuppiter cum uitiasset et fecisset grauidam, timens Iunonem, secundum alios ipsam puellam terrae commendauit, et illic enixa est: secundum alios partum eius: ibid. alii Vulcani et Aetnae filium tradunt (Palicum)*. Steph. Byz. s.v. Παλική quotes a writer called Silenus as stating that Palicus' mother was Aetna, daughter of Oceanus. Placidus on Stat. Theb. xii. 156 calls her 'a nymph Aetna.'

In the Theocritean Scholia on i. 65, two distinct sets of parents are assigned to Aetna, (1) Uranus and Ge, (2) Briareos, the father also of Sicanus. It seems probable that there were other genealogies now lost, which like the Briareos pedigree, connected her with Chthonic or Titanic powers. Among such *Perses* or *Persaeus* is a well-known and recurring name, Hes. Theog. 375-377:—

Κρείφ δ' Εὐρυβίη τέκεν ἐν φιλότῃ μιγείσα
Ἄστραιόν τε μέγαν Πάλλαντά τε δία θεάων
Πέρσην θ', ὃς καὶ πᾶσι μετέπρεπεν ἰδμοσύνησιν.

Cf. Apollod. i. 1. 2.

It may be said that *Perseis* is usually the name of *Hecate*, e.g. in Hesiod's Theogony and in the Argonautica of Apollonius Rhodius. This does not prove that there were no other claimants to the same title. Hyginus Fab. 156 mentions a *Perseis*, d. of Oceanus, and mother of Circe; cf. Apollod. i. 9. 1. Aetna (Steph. Byz. l.c.) was said by Silenus to be herself a daughter of Oceanus; it

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may therefore have been as an *Oceanid* that Aetna was (*ex hypothesi*) called *Perseis*. But the other view, that it is as a *Titanic* power that she was so called, is far more likely from the natural and intimate connexion of subterranean and volcanic phenomena with Titans, Giants, Cyclopes, &c. This is a fact too well established to need any further enlargement here.

The passage of the Clementine Homilies then, I propose to emend thus—[Αἴτνη τῇ] Περσαίου, νύμφῃ, γενόμενος γύψ, ἐξ ἧς οἱ ἐν Σικελίᾳ Παλικοί.

If the v. of Ovid's last Pontic Epistle (*Trinacriusque suae Perseidos auctor*) is to be explained of Aetna, it is obvious that the hitherto meaningless *suae* has a defined and easily felt significance. Trinacrius is 'the composer of *his own* Perseis,' because he selected to bear that name his own heroine, *Aetna*, daughter of the Titan Perses, not Hecate, nor Circe's mother, as most other poets had done : or, if *Trinacrius*¹ is not the actual name of the writer, but merely a variation on *Siculus*, Ovid would mean that the Sicilian composer of *Perseis* had fixed on an epichorian, not Italian or Hellenic, ἡρωίνη, to form the subject of his verses. The fact that *Perseis*

¹ Osann on Pseudo-Apuleius de orthographia, p. 36, traced *Trinacria* as a female name in an inscription (Gruter DCCLV 9), *Antonius. Triniacre. uxori p.* Mr. Haverfield, however, has not been able to find *Trinacrius* as a proper name in the C. I. L. ; it must therefore, if existent, be rare. The first impression of the passage is distinctly, I think, in favour of its being an actual name, especially in its combination with *Lupus*, which is certainly such. *Trinacriusque suae Perseidos auctor, et auctor Tantalidae reducis Tyndaridosque Lupus.* Almost all the poets mentioned by Ovid in this long catalogue (Ep. Pont. iv. 16) are called by their names ; and if Trinacria is the genuine appellation of a woman, there seems to be no reason for denying Trinacrius similarly to a male.

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nowhere occurs in *Aetna*, does not entirely disprove my hypothesis. The poet might have alluded *elsewhere* to his heroine, not as Aetna, but as Perseis, and Ovid may have borrowed this title from him. Or, if the poem was not in high esteem with the literary world of the time, Ovid might prefer to mention it by an ambiguous patronymic, rather than by its more commonly known title. We can imagine the wits of the later Augustan era parodying Cicero's criticism (ad Q. Fr. ii. 11) of Sallustius' *Empedoclea*: 'uirum te putabimus si Trinacrii Aetnam legeris, hominem non putabimus.'

II

THE MSS. OF 'AETNA'

NOT the least of the services which the great scholar H. A. J. Munro has rendered to Latin Philology, is the collation he made in 1866-7 of the unique Cambridge MS. (C) of *Aetna*. Its existence, indeed, had not escaped at least one scholar of his University long before; for as far back as March of 1703, John Davies, the editor of Cicero's *de Divinatione* and *de Natura Deorum*, transcribed¹ from it vv. 559-644 (*Armatus flamma est. his uiribus additur ingens. . . . Sed curae cessere domus et iura piorum*), and on July 23, 1710², sent a copy which he had made of the entire MS. (then in the library of Bp. Moore at Ely) to Le Clerc, who was preparing a second edition of his commentary on the poem. Towards the middle or end of the eighteenth century the MS. was known to Wassenberg³. But as late as 1826 it was still lying *perdu* and unrecognized, for Jacob makes no mention of it in his edition of that year. Even after special attention had been called to it in 1842 by Ritschl (*Rheinisches Museum*, p. 135), Haupt⁴ in 1854, though well informed of its antiquity (it was

¹ In MS. D'Orville, x. 1. 1. 18.

² Hoeven, *de Ioanne Clerico dissertationes duae* (1842), p. 155. Le Clerc published, under the pseudonym of Gorallus, a first edition of *Aetna* in 1703, a second in 1715. He seems to have made no use of Davies' collation of C.

³ Suringar, *Spicileg. Crit. in Aetnam*, 1804 (p. xlii).

⁴ By correspondence with Joseph Power, then librarian.

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written in the tenth century) and acquainted with many of its readings¹, had only an imperfect knowledge of the MS. as a whole.

Twelve years later, when Ribbeck was preparing his edition of the Vergilian opuscula, he wrote to Munro asking for a collation of the text of the *Culex*, contained in the same MS., Kk. v. 34. Munro sent his collation to Ribbeck, and then proceeded to examine the *Aetna* portion of the MS. A comparison of its readings with those of the MSS. previously known (the chief of them were published by Jacob in his edition of 1826) was enough to prove its immense superiority. This, indeed, might have been inferred from its much greater antiquity: for it cannot be later than the tenth century. Munro accordingly collated it completely, and published his collation with a commentary in 1867.

If to this Munro had merely added the readings, as reported by the Iena editor and Matthiae, of the lost codex Gyraldinus (vv. 138-285), it is probable that his edition would have made a greater mark, and would have been received with more enthusiasm. But the later MSS. which Munro included in his *apparatus criticus* are all of the fifteenth century, and all more or less interpolated; and the eye of the reader wanders amongst their unimportant variants, and cannot keep *C* (the Cambridge MS.) in view unobstructedly. In spite of this Munro's complete publication of *C* for the first time, marks the beginning of a more exact criticism on *Aetna*; for however useful the commentaries of earlier editors like Scaliger, Le Clerc, Wernsdorf, Jacob, may be in explaining or illustrating its difficulties, these editors could not constitute a satisfactory text, because

¹ Opusc. ii. 28.

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they were ignorant¹ of the single uncorrupted source on which such a text must be based.

Only one other of our extant sources approaches *C* in age and integrity, the *Stabulensian fragment* (*S*)² in the National Library of Paris, first collated by Bormans in the *Bulletins de l'Acad. Royale des Sciences et Belles Lettres de Bruxelles*, Tome xxi (1854). If this had survived entire we should have a somewhat later duplicate of *C*: unfortunately it is a fragment, containing tolerably complete 1-170, 215-258, 260-301, in a truncated form 171-213, 303-345. Though greatly defaced and sometimes illegible, it is valuable, not only as closely approaching *C*, but as justifying the hope that other fragments of equally early date (it seems to belong to the eleventh century) may lie in other libraries at present unknown. There is more hope for this because the poem was ascribed to Vergil, and must often have been copied with others of the *Opuscula Vergiliana* in the same MS. Such was certainly the case with the *Stabulensian fragment*, which includes portions of the *Culex* and *Dirae*, the whole of the *Copa* and *Moretum*, the *Vir Bonus*, and *Est et Non*.

The superiority of *C* and, in a less degree, of *S*, to all the fifteenth-century copies of *Aetna* is enforced by Munro, and is palpable in many ways. As a whole, *C*, and *S* where preserved, both present the poem in an intelligible, though sometimes obscured, form; whereas, in any of the fifteenth-century MSS. e. g. the *Rehdiger* codex at Breslau, or the *Arundel* codex in the British Museum, the sense is perpetually darkened by the most preposterous and

¹ Or at least ignored it, as Le Clerc seems to have had a collation of *C*, but not to have used it for his second edition.

² See Bährens, *P. L. M.* ii. pp. 10, 11; Wagler, *de Aetna poemate*, 2-5.

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scarcely credible corruptions: words are wrongly divided, whole or half-lines omitted, crosses or other marks of a lost meaning appended; and in the more difficult or scientific sections of the poem, the reader is left to feel for a meaning which obstinately refuses to come into sight. Anybody may test this for himself by a glance at the earliest editions, which were all printed from these fifteenth-century MSS., or at the explanations of corrupt passages proposed in these editions by the scholars of the latter fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries. Even Scaliger, who edited the Pseudo-Vergilian opuscula in 1572, with all his vast knowledge and his trained critical acumen, could make little of his bad materials, and by the confession of Haupt, has not been successful in his explanation of *Aetna*. Nor were the scholars of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, Heinsius, Le Clerc, Wernsdorf, much better off than their predecessors. Heinsius, indeed, knew at least some of the lections ascribed to the so-called *Gyraldinus*; and in his second edition of Claudian (1665), dedicated to Christina of Sweden, corrects some of the obscure passages of *Aetna* by their help. But none of these scholars had seen the Cambridge MS.; and even as late as 1837, when Haupt published his *Quaestiones Catullianae*, in which *Aetna* is treated at considerable length, he had not heard of the existence of this, the one primary source for the constitution of the poem in its entirety.

Treading closely in the steps of Munro, whose complete collation of *C*, published in 1867, must, as I would again enforce, be considered the first step towards a perfectly adequate criticism of *Aetna*, I will now descend to a more particular examination of some of the points in which *C*, with the Stabulensian fragment *S*, forms a class distinct

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from all the fifteenth-century copies. The Gyraldinian readings may here be passed by, as they extend to only a small section of the poem (138-285); and their genuineness, regarded as a whole, is not quite beyond suspicion.

(a) The following verse of *Aetna* is preserved in *CS*¹ alone:—

61 In commune uenit iam patri dextera Pallas

In *C* alone:—

468, 469 Illinc incertae facies hominumque figurae

Pars lapidum domita stanti pars robora pugnae

The following half-lines are found in *CS*, not in the fifteenth-century MSS.:—

53 —que tertia sidera signis

326 siponibus actus (only *sipon-* remains in *S*)

444 Siculi uicinia montis (in *C* alone, *S* being lost here)

(b) The following verses are intelligible in *CS*, unintelligible in fifteenth-century MSS.:—

95 extremique maris curuis incingitur undis *CS*

Rehd. and *v* curuis hic agitur (agitabitur *v*)

105 Sed tortis² rimosa cauis *CS*

totis

xvth cent. MSS.

121 errantes arcessant undique uenas *C*

et undas *Rehd.* ab undis *v*

192, 3 custodiaque ignis Illi operum est arcent aditus *C*

opertum est arcent dictis *Rehd.*

¹ Wagler shows, p. 5, that the variations of *S* from *C* are chiefly wrong divisions of words, e. g. *Ossa nolympus, flammare mouet*; but the advantage is sometimes on the side of *S*, e. g. *inclusi solidum, inferte*, for *inclusis olidum, infert e* of *C*. I cannot agree with Wagler in his judgment that *S* is 'proprio pretio plane destitutum': its slight variations are of great value where the critical question comes into view.

² *S* has *tortis*, but the *t* is scarcely perceptible.

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209 Exigitur uenti turbas auertice saeuo *C*
uetitur saxa uertice . . . +(sic) *Rehd.*

344 Cum rexit uires *C*
Cur exit uires *Rehd.*

372 Causa latet quae rumpat iter *C*
quaerunt pariter xvth cent. MSS.

383 Si cessata diu referunt certamina uenti *C*
Si cessat á iure ferunt *Rehd.*

434 nec obesa bitumine terra est *C*
acumine *Rehd. Arund.*

490 Quod si forte cauis cunctatus uallibus haesit *C*
uasibus *Rehd.*

537 Heraclite tui *C*
Heracliti et ubi est *Rehd.*
Eradicet ubi *Helmstadt MS.*

574 felicesque alieno intersumus aeuo *C*
intersūmo *Helmst.*
transumere *Rehd.*

(c) Cases where *C*, though wrong, points unmistakably to the right reading :—

213 Nam prope nequiquam par est uolentia semper *C*
from *uolentia* it is a short step to *uiolentia*.

The v. is corrupted in *Rehd.* as follows :—

Nam pro poena quicquam par est uoluentia semper.

335 Prospectant sublimis opus *C*

i. e. Prospectans s. o.

Prospectat *Rehd.* a step farther from the true reading.

398, 399 Sed maxima causa mola acris
Illius incendi lapis est siuindicat aetnam

i. e. *is* (or, *sic*) uindicat.

In *Rehd.* the v. appears thus :—

Illius incendia lapis sic uendicat aethnam, +

484 Incipit et prunis dimittit collibus undas *C*

prunis Schrader, Suringar, Munro.

Most fifteenth-century MSS. have *primis*.

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569 *Traducti materia et terris per proxima fatis C*

Traducti maria, the conj. of De Rooy, is simple and generally accepted as right.

Rehd. gives *Tracti materia*, which is a step towards the more complete vitiation which is found in some late fifteenth-century MSS., e.g. MS. 207 in the Museum of Naples, *Traduce materia*.

Another test of the superiority of *C* is orthography. It has *artus arte* not *arctus*, *arcte*, *caelum* not *coelum*, *temptare* not *tentare*, *nequiquam* not *nequicquam*, *Iuppiter* not *Iupiter*, *harena* not *arena*, *saecula* not *secula*, *sucosior* not *succosior*, *bucina* not *buccina*, *siponibus* not *siphonibus*, *inice* not *iniice*, *cometen* not *cometem*, *Bootes* not *Boethes*, *Laeda* not *Leda*. Not that it is without spellings of less authority: even *C* has not escaped that predominant error of MSS. *Lygurgus* for *Lycurgus*; and so *humida*, *extinctus* instead of the more correct *umida*, *exstinctus*¹. Some few traces of *st* for *est* after *-ae* have survived, *luna . est=lunaest* 230, *terrent* for *terraest* 387.

Among the fifteenth-century MSS. there is little to choose. The *Rehdiger* codex, which I have published in full in the *Journal of Philology*, xx. 207-223, is a fair representative of them; Vat. 3272, containing 1-433, has some readings of its own which deserve consideration, yet as a whole is deplorably corrupt. Still these MSS. are not to be entirely neglected, as they contain occasional lections which are obviously right, and it cannot be demonstrated that these are all corrections of Italian scholars of the Renaissance. Those who are familiar with the transmission of classical

¹ Yet *exsudant* (545). In 269 *dolea* is shown by Munro to be a correct form: *pignera* 135, but *pignora*, *pignore* 459, 518.

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texts in the Middle Age, who by the constant examination and comparison of the MSS. of particular authors, have arrived at something like perception of the probable course by which they become at first slightly, by degrees desperately, vitiated, know that the progress of this vitiation is variable, and is influenced by very different accidents. A few instances will suffice to explain my meaning.

In 439 our tenth-century MS. (*C*) gives *Pars tamen incendi maiore frixit*, the fifteenth-century MSS. have *maior refrixit*, rightly. We cannot infer from this that all the early, but now lost, MSS. of *Aetna* (say of tenth, eleventh, or twelfth centuries) agreed with *C*, and that the correction was made in the fourteenth or fifteenth century; the wrong division in the words *maiore frixit* is not necessarily early, the right division late: it is equally possible that this latter descended to the fifteenth century from an early MS. distinct from *C*. So, again, the fifteenth-century MSS. give in 406¹ *Et metuens natura mali*; *C* has *naturam alii*; but we cannot infer that the former and obviously right reading did not descend from some other tenth-century MS. where the words were divided correctly. For this reason I have thought it the safest course to reject the ascription of such lections to the convenient symbol *Itali*, although it has the support of one of the greatest critics of the last hundred years, Lachmann: I have preferred to mention the exact MS. in which such lections occur, not venturing to pronounce whether the correction was made early or was only introduced when a more scientific knowledge of Latin had set in. On similar grounds I have once or twice hesi-

¹ So 461 *exemploque C*, *exemploque Rehd.* 526 *non odora ut C*, *non odor aut Rehd.* Yet *Fabriles opera erudibus* both in *C* and *Rehd.* (561).

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tated whether to follow *C* or *Rehd.*, e. g. in 511, 512, where *C* gives *fauilla Flumina proprietate simul concrecere*: *Rehd.* and *Arund.* have *fauillam Plurima*. Both *C* and *Rehd.* are in this instance corrupt: for neither *fauilla* nor *fauillam* can well be right: but the over-frequent repetition of the word *flumen* in this part of the poem is rather against *C*, while *plurima* would form an intelligible antithesis to *materiam aliam*: the mass of the stone to the smaller and liquefying portion.

During my stay in Rome in 1887 I examined several of these late copies of *Aetna*, all of them more or less interpolated. But it must be considered very unfortunate that the codex of the later fourteenth or early fifteenth century, which I discovered in the Corsini palace, and which contains a copy of the *Culex*¹ of unique importance, has preserved only the first six verses of *Aetna*, enough, however, to show that the archetype from which it was intended to be copied entire was good, and did not belong to the inferior class. Had we, I will not say the whole, but half of *Aetna* preserved to us in this codex, we might have been able to illumine some of the dark passages where *C* and *S* leave us groping. A MS. in the Chigi² palace which I looked at was disappointing; not less so one belonging to the Urbino collection in the Vatican (353), and another in the Naples Museum. A somewhat higher importance attaches to one

¹ Corsini 64=43. F. 5. See *Classical Review*, vi. 203; *Cambridge Journal of Philology* for 1887, pp. 153-156.

² This MS. however points to the true reading in 406. It has *ubi congitur igni*, i. e. *cogitur*. Bährens, with the rashness which distinguished him, ascribed *cogitur* to the *Itali*, in other words considered it a correction of the fifteenth century. The form which it assumes in the Chigi MS., *congitur*, is conclusive against this.

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of the MSS. in the British Museum collated by Munro, *Arundel* 133; *Sloane* 777 is considerably interpolated.

There are besides at least three collections of excerpts in existence, two of them collated by Bährens, one by myself. The two former are at Paris, 7647 and 17903¹; the last is in the Escorial. This MS., Q. 1. 14, among excerpts from a great variety of Latin works, prose and poetry alike, (notably an unusually large collection of seventy lines and half-lines from the *Argonautica* of Val. Flaccus), has forty-one verses of *Aetna*. I shall here quote from my description published in the *Cambridge Journal of Philology*, xxii. 313-315.

Virgilius in Ethna. Quam iocundum sit scientie non
cupiditati operam dare.

1	Inmensus labor est sed fertilis idem	[221]
2	Digna laborantis respondent premia curis	[222]
3	Scire quot et que sint magno natalia mundo	[227]
4	Principia et rerum dubias exquirere causas	[228 + 225]
5	Solis scire modum et quanto minor orbita lune	[230]
6	Haec breuior cur bisseos cito peruolet orbes	[231]
7	Annuus ille meet quod [q'] certo sydera currant	[232]
8	Ordine [<i>cett. omissa sunt</i>]	[233]
9	Scire uices etiam signorum tradita cura est	[234]
10	Nubila cur celo terris denuntiet imbres	[235]
11	Quo cubeat [<i>sic</i>] phebe quo frater palleat igne	[236]
12	Tempora cur uariant anni primaque iuuenta	[237]
13	Ver estate perit cur estas ipsa senescit	[238]
14	Autumpnoque obrepit hiems et in orbe recurrit	[239]
15	Axem scire helices et tristem nosse coinetem	[240]
16	Lucifer unde micet · quauē hesperus · unde boetes	[241]
17	Saturnique stella tenax quae [q] martia pugnax	[242]
18	Quo rapiant naute quo sydere lintea tendant	[243]
19	Scire uias maris et celi predicere cursus	[244]

¹ Bährens, p. 15, ascribes 7647 to the twelfth or thirteenth centuries, 17903 to the thirteenth century.

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20	Quo uolet orion quo	incubet index	[245]
21	Et quocunque iacent tanto miracula mundo		[246]
22	Non digesta pati nec aceruo condita rerum		[247]
23	Sed manifesta notis certa disponere sede		[248]
24	Singula diuina est animi ac iocunda uoluntas		[249]
25	Non oculis solum pecudum miranda uidere		[223]
26	More nec effusis in humum graue pascere corpus		[224]
Conquestio quod maiorem demus operam augende pecunie quam scientie.			
27	Torquemur miseri inprimis premimurque labore		[256]
28	Vt sese pretio red ^h mant rerumque [<i>sic</i>] professe		[260]
29	Turpe silent artes uiles inopesque relice		[261]
30	Torquentur flamma terre ferroque domantur		[259]
31	Scrutamur rimas et uertimus omne profundum		[257]
32	Semen ut argenti queratur et aurea uena		[258]
33	Noctes atque dies festinant arua coloni		[262]
34	Callent rure manus glebarum expellimur usu		[263]
35	Fertilis haec segetique feratior altera uiti		[264]
36	Hec platanis humus hec herbis dignissima tellus		[265]
37	Hec dura et melior pecori · siluisque fidelis		[266]
38	Aridiora tenent oleæ · succosior ulmis		[267]
39	Grata leues crutiant animos et corpora sause [<i>sic</i>]		[268]
40	Horrea uti saturent tumeant et dolia musto		[269]
41	Plenaque desecto surgant fenilia campo		[270]

These Escorial excerpts are identical with those at Paris. They almost always agree with *C*. There are four cases in which they do not. 230 et quanto minor orbita lune *Esc.*, et quanto minor orbita luna · est *C*; 266 Haec dura et *Esc.*, Haec diuiti et *C*; 232 Annuus ille meet *Esc.*, Annuus ille monet *C*; 267 ulmis *Esc.*, ulmus *C*. This proves my assertion that if we had other MSS. of a date as early as *CS*, or only a little later, we should find at least some variations of importance.

Hitherto our path has been clear enough. We have on the one hand two early MSS. (*CS*), one entire of the tenth, the other imperfect of the eleventh century; also a short

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body of excerpts drawn from a source not practically different, yet exhibiting lections which at times diverge from *CS*, at times correct them. We have on the other hand a number of fifteenth-century MSS. all more or less vitiated, yet not without their use, as at times preserving what seems likely to be the original reading. Between these two classes we can, of course, have no difficulty in deciding which to follow. *CS*, and especially *C*, are our only safe guides ; the other class is comparatively of little account.

But we are now confronted with a problem of some difficulty. For in addition to the sources already mentioned we possess a number of various readings on one portion of *Aetna* (138–285) which profess to be derived from a far older codex than even *C*, and which include some corrections of such excellence as to warp the judgment of critics into believing that in this body of variants we possess an uncorrupted tradition which outweighs all our other sources. This is practically the view of Jacob and Haupt : Bährens made of them a first class, to which all other MSS. are subordinate : he has been followed even more pronouncedly by Wagler, Hildebrandt, and Sudhaus. This was not so always. Wernsdorf when editing *Aetna* in his *Poetae Latini Minores* (1785) used them with hesitation : Munro, though sometimes adopting them, did not scruple at times to reject them in favour of *C* : my own feeling, which originally went beyond Munro in his acceptance, changed as soon as the real test of comparison, the two MSS. *CS*, had become more minutely known by personal inspection, collation, and transcription¹, and this doubt has found expression in various papers communicated to the *Journal of Philology*

¹ I made a complete transcript of *C*.

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at intervals from 1887 to the present time. Very lately Alzinger has subjected all these variants to a laborious and impartial scrutiny, and the result may be stated in his own words. 'The codex Gyraldinus has played out its rôle as "best source." As basis for the formation of the text of *Aetna*, CS alone can count henceforward, however corrupt and disfigured their transmission, and however hard their riddles to explain.'

Lilius Gyraldus (Hist. Poet. iv. p. 372, ed. Basel, 1545) in his life of the poet Claudian writes thus: '*Composuit uero multa Claudianus quae in manibus habentur, inter quae et nonnulla Graeca, ut Gigantomachiam, ex qua et Graecos uersus legimus . . . Extant et Claudiani in Graecorum epigrammatum uolumine de crystallo uersus qua de re eiusdem et Latini leguntur. Extat item de Aetna monte, quod an ipsius legitimum sit nec probare nec refellere ausim. ex antiquissimo certe et castigato codice qui Francisci Petrarchae fuisse creditur, illud ego ipse exscripsi.*'

From this it would seem that among the poems ascribed to Claudian were some in Greek, a *Gigantomachia*, and an epigram on a crystal; and that there was also extant with the same ascription a poem on Mount Aetna, which Gyraldus had copied with his own hand from a correct and very ancient MS., which was believed to have once been in the possession of Petrarch. He does not say that this was a MS. of Claudian; but this is a reasonable inference from his statement. For in all the earliest MSS. of the poem, whether entire or in excerpts, with which we are acquainted it is ascribed to Vergil, and to Vergil only: if therefore Gyraldus attributed it, though doubtfully, to Claudian, it must have been an inference from its inclusion in a volume containing other works of that poet.

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What became of the copy of *Aetna* which Gyraldus made from this early MS. is unknown. But when Heinsius was writing his notes on Claudian (second ed., 1665¹) he was in possession of some very ancient variants in the text of *Aetna*, by the help of which he has corrected two passages from it. On In Ruf. ii. 527 he cites Aetn. 140 thus: *Cernis et in silvis spatiosa² cubilia retro Antraque demersas penitus fodisse latebras*; adding, 'quomodo uersus illi ex antiquis membranis legendi.' Again, on Rapt. Pros. i. 171 he cites Aetn. 218-220 thus: *Nunc quoniam in promptu est operis natura solique Vnde ipsi uenti, quae res incendia pascit, Cur subito cohibent uires, quae causa silendi*; adding, 'quomodo illi castigandi sunt ex ueteri codice.' From his preface³ it would seem that the source of these variants was a codex in the Medicean Library at Florence, which 'schedae Mediceae' contained excerpts not only from *Aetna*, but Claudian, both drawn, as Heinsius believed, from the codex of Gyraldus above mentioned. The actual and very old codex of Gyraldus had disappeared, and all the attempts which Heinsius and his friend Langermann

¹ Not in the first edition of 1650.

² I cannot find *spatiosa* in either of the two collations of Gyr., that of 1756 or that of 1797. It is however in Ald. 1517.

³ Praef. p. 5, ed. Amstelod. 1665. Heinsius, speaking of the Vatican MS. of Claudian excerpted by Livineius, calls it the best and oldest of all, except *Lucensis ille Gyraldinus*, cuius nihil praeter excerpta, atque illa satis oscitanter descripta, uidimus, *quamquam uolumen ipsum, cum Lucae essemus, ut multa cum sedulitate, sic irritò successu sit inuestigatum et mihi et Langermanno nostro, quod in eo extitisse nonnulla compertum haberem, multo usui futura, quae ab aliis membranarum mutuari haud possis, quale carmen istud in Aetnam, quod in catalectis poetarum ueterum adscribitur Cornelio Seuero et cuius partem potissimam, uulgatis exemplaribus longe castigationem, illic se obtulisse, tam Gyraldus ipse, quam schedae mediceae fidem indubitam faciunt, atque omni exceptione maiorem.*

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made to recover it at Lucca, its supposed home, were useless. These excerpts from *Aetna* did not extend to all the poem: Heinsius' expression 'pars potissima' implies that he did not expect to find more than a considerable section of the poem in the lost MS. of Lucca; and this would agree with the fact stated above that the Gyraldinian variants as we know them are confined to 138-285. From the fact that the two corrections of *Aetna* made by Heinsius (as above mentioned) both occur in this section, and both agree, the former entirely, the latter in the word *cohibent*, with the completer set of variants which, since their publication by a Iena editor in 1756¹ and Matthiae in 1797², have been before the learned world, we may conclude that the two Heinsian excerpts are ultimately traceable to the same source as the completer collection published in 1756 and 1797.

That Heinsius' excerpts went beyond the two mentioned, is expressly stated by the elder Burmann on Ov. Met. i. 85, where illustrating *Os homini sublime dedit caelumque tueri Iussit*, he quotes Aetn. 223-226, first with the readings *uidere—posse fidem rebus—dubiasque—Sacra perurgentem caput atque attollere caelo*, then with the emended readings³ afterwards published as Gyraldinian, *tueri—nosse fidem rerum dubias exquirere causas—Ingenium sacrare, caputque attollere caelo*; adding that so we must read the passage 'ex antiquo codice Mediceo, quem Heinsius contulit.'

¹ *Acta Societatis Ienensis*, v. pp. 3-6.

² *Neue Bibliothek der schönen Wissenschaften und freien Künste*, lix. pp. 311-327.

³ Except *nosse* and *dubias*, which are not in either version of the Gyraldinian variants, 1756 or 1797.

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This takes us a step farther ; Heinsius, if we may believe Burmann, himself made a collation of these readings. This need not mean more than that he copied them into some edition of *Aetna* at second hand : it is not certain that he ever *saw* the whole passage 138–285 as copied *in extenso* from the lost Lucca codex, or even the complete collection of excerpted readings we now possess. It was his habit to enter the variants of important MSS. in the margin of printed editions : and the younger Burmann states that two copies of Pithou's *Epigrammata et Poemata Vetera* (Paris, 1590) were so used by him ¹.

It is possible, but not proved, that one of these Heinsian copies of Pithou's *Epigrammata* is identical with the volume from which the Iena editor and later Matthiae drew the complete collection of Gyraldinian Extracts. Matthiae's is the fuller and more exact account ; he states that the copy of Pithou from which the Gyraldinian extracts came, had, written on the back of the title-page, '*In Aetna V. significat cod. Florentinum, quem inde habuit Ernstius, nempe solum partem illam.*' This can only mean ² that where the letter V (Vetus) was added to a v. l. in the margin of the pages of Pithou containing *Aetna*, that v. l. was drawn from a MS. at Florence ; which MS., i. e. the part of it containing that portion of *Aetna* to which the vv. ll. referred, came into the possession of Ernst : in other words, Ernst had a copy of *Aetn.* 138–285 as written in a Florence MS.

It is unfortunate that we do not know certainly who

¹ Wagler, pp. 11, 12.

² Birt, however, Claud. p. lxxxix, thinks that *quem* refers to *Aetna* ; which, though *Aetna* is found occasionally masc., or the writer of the note may have thought of the mountain, seems to me improbable.

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this Ernst was. It is generally supposed that he is the Henr. Ernstius who in 1641 published a one vol. Catalogue of the Laurentian Library. Munro, however, could find no reference in this Catalogue to the Florentine codex from which the Gyraldinian extracts, as just mentioned, are said to have been drawn; nor could I. Still the date of this Ernst (1603-1665), and his familiarity with the MSS. of the Laurentian Library, would agree with this identification; and the short and incomplete character of his Catalogue might account for the omission of the MS. in question; or it might have been passed over as a mere fragment. At any rate no such MS., i. e. no MS. containing *Aetn.* 138-285 in full, or the excerpted variants published as Gyraldinian a century later, was known to Bandini when he issued his complete Catalogue of the Laurentian Library (1764-1778).

This is the more wonderful because Bandini *does* mention a fifteenth century MS. of that library (33. 9), the first folio of which begins with *Aetn.* 270-285, i. e. the concluding sixteen verses of the very fragment of which Ernst is said to have had a copy taken from a 'Codex Florentinus.' What is more, this fragment agrees in a remarkable manner with the Gyraldinian readings as published in 1756 and 1797 from a copy of Pithou's *Epigrammata*; nor can it be doubted that it comes from an original identical with the Vetus codex known to Ernst, leaving off as it does with the very same line. Whether, however, the writer of these sixteen verses copied also the preceding 138-269, and this originally complete fragment was known to Ernst, or whether Ernst's copy was wholly independent of these sixteen verses, are questions which we cannot solve. Bährens held the former view: Birt, Claudian, p. xc, con-

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siders that the Laurentian fragment was never more than the sixteen verses which still survive.

It must here be stated that this Laurentian MS. 33. 9 contains, besides *Aetn.* 270–285, the minor poems of Claudian (p. 287 sqq. in Birt's edition), written in a hand recognizably¹ the same which has added in a copy of the Vicentine ed. princ. of Claudian, also in the Laurentian Library (A. 4. 36), variants on most of the *carmina maiora* drawn from a very old codex, thus described in a note on the first book *In Rufinum* (v. 20) '*hinc coepi conferre cum uetustissimo codice amici cuiusdam Lucensis*'². *geminis punctis . . notaturus quae illinc emendabo.*' The second book of the *In Rufinum* and the other major poems of Claudian have also variants, which seem to be in the same writing, but the source of these is called 'cod. B,' leaving it doubtful whether the codex of Lucca is identical (as Birt thinks) with 'cod. B' or different. However this may be, Heinsius knew these variants and set great store by them: in his edition of Claudian, they are constantly quoted as *Luccan* or drawn from a *cod. Lucensis*. He believed them to come from a MS. earlier than the oldest, this earlier MS. to have been identical with the codex used by Gyraldus for copying *Aetna*. Hence he expended no little effort on the attempt to re-discover it at Lucca, not with more success³, despite his intimate relations with the most exalted patron⁴

¹ Birt, p. lxxxiv. By the kindness of Father Ehrle, S. J., Librarian of the Vatican, I possess an exact transcript of these 16 vv., which will be found on p. 134. They are written on the first of twelve paper leaves (fol. 102–113* of the entire MS.) in double columns, and of the fifteenth century.

² This is the origin of the name *Lucensis* for the supposed eighth century MS. of Claudian.

³ See the extract from his Preface, quoted p. 13.

⁴ Queen Christina of Sweden.

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of scholars at that time, than has attended the various efforts to bring to light the lost eighth-century codex of Silius' *Punica*¹.

It is not difficult to see that this belief of Heinsius, and from him of scholars generally, has many points of attack. The excerpts in Laur. A. 4. 36 and 33. 9 are, it is true, supplementary to each other; they are valuable as representing a very ancient source; but it cannot be shown that the source of the variants on *In Rufinum I*, the codex Lucensis, was also the source of the other variants in the two volumes. If it was, why should it be called now Lucensis, now cod. B? Such a difference of nomenclature could only be confusing. And if the scribe who copied the variants of *In Rufinum I* obtained his 'uetustissimus codex' from a friend at Lucca, it is a long leap to the conclusion of Heinsius that it must have remained there, as if it had been in some public library. Again, allowing that this very old MS. in possession of a Luccan, was the one fount from which² both sets of variants on Claudian flowed, it does not follow that the *Aetna* variants, though, to the extent of sixteen verses, they exist in one of the two Laurentian MSS., were drawn from the same Luccan codex: still less that this so-called Luccan codex was that from which Gyraldus early in the sixteenth century copied *Aetna*. Such reasonings are fallacious: they predispose a logical mind to suspect error in the subsequent stages of inquiry.

¹ I can find no trace of this lost MS. of *Aetna* in the Catalogue of MSS. at Lucca published in vol. viii (1900) of *Studi Italiani di Filologia Classica*.

² i. e. those on *in Ruf. I*, which are expressly stated to have been taken from the Lucensis and marked by two dots . . , and the others taken from cod. B.

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We may, however, formulate what Heinsius tells us thus. When he published his second edition of Claudian (1665), and even, it would seem, before his second journey to Italy with Langermann in 1652, he had seen a set of excerpts on a large section (*pars potissima*) of *Aetna*, which in correctness were far superior to the vulgate text. They were extant in the Medicean Library at Florence, and were taken from a MS. of great antiquity, no longer to be found, but presumably the same from which Gyraldus had copied the poem early in the sixteenth century. Some of them at least were in Heinsius' possession, and he has emended two passages of *Aetna* from them: but he seems to have distrusted the accuracy¹ of the copy he had seen of these Florentine excerpts on Claudian, and probably included those on *Aetna* in the same condemnation.

All these variants on *Aetna*, generally known as *Gyraldinian* because they are believed to have come from the codex from which Gyraldus copied the poem in full, I shall now cite from the two reports of them (1) in *Acta Societatis Latinae Ienensis* for 1756, Tome v. pp. 3-6; (2) by Matthiae, *Neue Bibliothek der schönen Wissenschaften*, Tome lix. pp. 311-327. The former I quote as *I*: the latter as *M*.

- | | | |
|-----|---|---------------|
| 138 | Intercepta licet densaque abscondita nocte | <i>I</i> |
| 139 | P. chaos et sine fine minas <i>marg.</i> uastum | <i>M</i> cor- |
| | recting <i>I</i> | |
| 141 | Antraque demersas penitus fodisse latebras | <i>I</i> |
| 142 | aeri tantum effugit ultra | <i>I</i> |
| 145 | abstrahe rebus | <i>I</i> |
| 147 | Semper et inclusa (in incluso <i>M</i>) nec uentis segnior | |
| | ira est <i>IM</i> | |
| 148 | mouens | <i>I</i> |

¹ 'Lucensis ille Gyraldinus, cuius nihil praeter excerpta, atque illa satis oscitanter descripta, uidimus,' Praef. p. 5.

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- 150 *riguos I riuos M¹*
 151 *flammae ruit I flammaeue ruit M*
 152 *Obliquumque secant quae causa tenerrima caussa est M*
 153 *hiantes I*
 155 *solido si staret in omni I*
 157 *conferta immobilis esset I*
 158 *concreescere I*
 159 *subitis I ora I*
 160 *patula I uastosque recessus I*
 161 *Falleris et nondum certo tibi lumine res est I*
 162 *Namque illis quaecumque uacant hiatibus omnis M*
 163 *Et sese I*
 164 *Conceptae I*
 165 *qui teneat I Quippe ubi qui teneat uentos*
 aquasque morantes M
 166 *defit cessant I*
 167 *Explicat erranteis et in ipso limite tradunt M*
 tradant I (only this word)
 168 *turbanti faucibus illo I*
 169 *densaque premit I*
 170 *Nunc euri boreaeque notus, nunc huius uterque est M*
 172 *solis I*
 174 *antiqui I*
 175 *Haec immo cum (quum I) sit species IM naturaue*
 terrae M
 176 *trahat I*
 178 *illi I*
 182 *Porrigit IM hinc M artus (IM) penitusque exaestuat*
 ultra M
 183 *scissae I I*
 184 *aliae (for uaries) I*
 186 *Haec illi sedes tantarumque area rerum M*
 186 *b Haec operi uisenda sacri faciesque domusque I*
 (This v. is not found in any of the extant MSS.)
 187 *incendii IM*
 188 *paruo aut tenui discrimine signis I*
 189 *sub exiguum uenient tibi pignora tempus I*

¹ Matthiae says '*riguos* ist eine Heinsische Emendation.'

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- 190 Res oculos ducunt *I* cogent *I*
 191 moneam *I* moneant *M* tuto *M*
 193 operi *I* aditus *I*
 196 quid torreat *I*
 197 quis *I* imperat *I*
 198 exhaustae glomeratim *I*
 202 tantos *I*
 203 Ne sepulta *M*
 205 tremit omniaque extra *I*
 206 arenae *I*
 207 ueniunt *I* ullis *I*
 209 Exagitant uenti turbas ac *I*
 210 collecta *I*
 211 Haec caussae expectanda terunt *I*
 213 nequicquam pars *I* Nam prope nequicquam pars
 est uiolentia flammae *M*
 215 auxilium *I* corpora *I*
 216 audet *I*
 217 Hinc *I* magnusque qui sub duce *I*
 219 Vnde *I*
 220 Cur subito cohibent iners *M*
 222 Pigra *I* laboratis *M*
 223 tueri *I*
 225 rerum *I*
 226 Ingenium sacrare caputque attollere caelo *M*
 227 magno fatalia *I*
 229 uinclo *I*
 231 Hoc breuior cursu bis senos peruolat orbes *M*
 233 quaeue (quae *M*) suos seruent incondita motus *IM*
 234^b Sex cum nocte rapi totidem cum luce referri *IM*

(this v. is not found in any of the extant MSS.)

- 235 Panope caelo *I*
 237 uariant *I* uer prima iuuenta 238 Cur *I*
 242 quae . . . quae *I*
 243 pandant *I*
 245 Qua uocet *I* excubet *I*
 247 congesta *I*
 250 omni *I*

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251	Quaeque in ea	<i>I</i>
252	magis affinis	<i>M</i>
253	mortali cuiquam est	<i>I</i>
254		diuos <i>I</i>
255		ac <i>I</i> segne est <i>I</i>
256	Torquemur miseri in paruis terimurque labore	<i>M</i>

Then the three vv. Scrutamur rimas—Quaeritur argenti
—Torrentur flamma, which in the extant MSS. follow Non
subito pallere sono non credere subter. *M*

261	Tum demum humilesque iacent inopesque relictæ	<i>M</i>
263		expendimus usum <i>I</i>
264	Fertilis haec segeti feracior altera uiti	<i>M</i>
265	plantis	<i>I</i>
266	duro ¹	<i>I</i>
269	Horreaque ut sature tumeant ut dolia musto	<i>M</i>
271	Sic auidi semper quouis est carior ipsis	<i>M</i>
273	Sunt animi fruges haec rerum est optima merces	<i>M</i>
274		terrae natura <i>I</i>
275		multum <i>I</i>
276		animosque <i>I</i>
278		aut tartara rumpi <i>I</i>
279	intendat	<i>I</i>
280	reperta	<i>I</i>
282	seruent	<i>I</i>
283	tenues in se	<i>I</i>
285	infessa est atque hinc obnoxia uentis	<i>I</i>

These readings are of the most diverse quality. Some of them are of undoubted goodness and hardly to be arrived at by conjecture. The most notable of these is 226 *Ingenium sacrare caputque attollere caelo* for *Sacra per ingentem capitique a. caelum* of *C*, 213 *Nam prope nequic-*

¹ *dura et* is not expressly said to have been in *Gyr*. Matthiae's words, p. 326, are 'Die gewöhnliche Lesart *dura et melior* gründet sich auf Scaliger's Handschrift und wird durch die Florentinische bestätigt,' would be true of *duro* as reported by the Iena editor, and do not prove that *dura et* was the reading of *Gyr*. as seen by Matthiae.

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quam pars est uiolentia against *par est* of *C*, for *parsest* is a corruption of *persest*, the excellent emendation of Wagler; 141 *Antraque demersas penitus fodisse latebras* against *A. demissa pedibus fodisse latebris*; 169 *densaque premit premiturque ruina Nunc euri boreaeque notus nunc huius uterque est* against *densique premunt premiturque ruina Nunc furtim boreaeque noto nunc huius uterque est*; in this case the genuineness of *Gyr.* is not lessened, but increased by the unintelligible *est*; 165 *aquasque* against *-a quaeque* of *C*, leading as it does to the emendation of Munro *acuatque* (now generally accepted); 187 *incendii* where *C* gives *incendi*; the *-ii*, though unmetrical, is exactly the sort of error (if we may rightly call error what was probably explanation¹) which belongs to an early source; 263 *glebarum expendimus usum*, against *g. expellimur usu* of *C*; 266 *duro* against *diuiti* of *C*, for though *duro* cannot be right, its close agreement with *dura et* of the Paris and Escorial excerpts points to an early source; 220 *Cur subito cohibent iners* for *Cum s. cohibetur, inest* pointing to *cohibentur, iners*; 275 *multum* against *multos* of *C*, pointing to *mutum*, the emendation of Haupt; 278 *Tartara rumpi* against *Tartara mundi* of *C*; 283 *tenues in se abstrahat auras* for *neue insé abstrahat auras* of *C*; 178 *illi* against *Illinc* of *C*.

Others are good or plausible in themselves but such as would easily occur to any scholar well trained in Latin poetry; 138 *densaque abscondita nocte* for *densaeque a. nocti* of *C*; 151 *flammaeue ruit* for *flamma uerrit* of *C*; 153 *hiantes* for *hiatu* of *C*; 155 *in omni* for *inamni* of *C*; 157 *conferta immobilis esset* for *confert immobilis e.* of *C*;

¹ I mean that *incendi* being doubtfully genitive or infin. pass., the retention against metre of the double *-ii* was a mark of its being genitive.

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166 *desit* for *desint* of *C*; 172 *solī* for *solo* of *C*; 186 *Haec illi sedes tantarumque area rerum* for *Haec illis tantarum sedesque arearum est* of *C*; 207 *ullis* for *ulli* of *C*; 209 *Exagitant* for *exigitur* of *C*; 219 *Vnde* for *una* of *C*; 225 *rerum* for *rebus* of *C*; 247 *congesta* for *digesta* of *C*.

A third class consists of readings which are suspicious either as wrongly, or imperfectly, or unmetrically reported, or as unintelligible, or as too widely differing from our one unimpeachable MS. *C*.

a. Readings wrongly, imperfectly, or unmetrically reported.

139 Prospectare chaos et sine fine tminas *marg. uastum*
Gyr

Prospectare procul chaos et sine fine ruinae

142 Incomperta uia est taerl tantum effugit ultra *Gyr*
operum tantum effluit intra *C*

147 Semper et inclusa $I =$
in incluso $M =$ } Gyr

Semper in inclusus (*sic*) C

152 Obliquumque secant †quae causa tenerrima caussa
est† *Gyr*

Obliquumque secat qua uisa tenerrima causa est *C*

162 Namque illis quaecumque uacant thiatibus omnis *Gyr*

Namque illuc quodcumque uacat hiat impetus omnis C

167 erranteis et in ipso limite tradunt $\mathcal{M}$ (tradant I)

errantis et in ipso limine tardant C

Note the correct orthography in *C. errantis*, the improbable in *Gyr. erranteis*.

217 Hinc princeps magnusque †qui sub duce militat
ignis *Gyr.*

Hinc princeps magnosque sub hoc duce militat ignis C

261 Tum demum humilesque iacent inopesque relictæ Gyr.

Tum demum uiles taceant i. r. C.

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Gyr. here presents two impossibilities *humilesque* after *tum demum*, and the indic. *iacent* where the subj. is required.

264 Fertilis haec segeti †feracior altera uiti *Gyr.*

Fertilis haec segetique feracior, a. u. *C*

269 Horreaque ut sature tumeant ut dolia musto *Gyr.*

Horrea uti saturent, tumeant et dolea musto *C*

(1) As Alzinger well observes, *que* of *Gyr.* is meaningless :

(2) what is *sature* ?

271 Sic audi semper quouis est carior illis ipsis *Gyr.* and
Laur. 33. 9

Sic audi semper qua uisum est carius istis *C*

285 infessa est *Gyr.* and Laur. 33. 9

infestus *C*

b. Readings of *Gyr.* which, as stated in *I* or *M*, are not intelligible or scarcely.

150 riguos *I* = } *Gyr.* rigidos *C*
riuos *M* = }

riuos becomes intelligible if altered to *priuos* (Unger), but is in itself without meaning : *riguos*, I think, would be wrong.

176 trahat *Gyr.* trahit *C*

The subj. has no proper meaning.

182 Corrigit hic artus penitus quos exigit ultra *C*

Porrigit hinc artus penitusque exaestuat ultra *Gyr.*

211 Hac causa expectata ruunt incendia montis *C*

Haec caussae expectanda †terunt *Gyr.*

235 Nubila cur caelo terris denuntiet imbres *C*

Nubila cur †Panope caelo *Gyr.*

Why *Panope* ? Sudhaus says because the passage of the *Georgics* (i. 430-437 *At si uirgineum—Panopeae et Inoo Melicertae*) in which the prognostics of wind to be drawn from the moon are mentioned, ends with a description

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of seamen paying their vows to Glaucus, Melicerta, and *Panopea*. This will hardly satisfy. It would be better to make *Nubila Panope* = *nubila facies tranquillī maris*, 'clouds on a calm sea,' or clouds rising on a calm sea.

c. Readings of *Gyr.* which are suspiciously remote from *C.*

- 161 Fallere sed nondum tibi lumine certaue retro *C*
 Falleris et nondum terto tibi lumine res est *Gyr.*
 175 Haec primo cum sit species naturaue terrae *C*
 Haec immo naturaue *Gyr.*

What is the meaning of *immo*?

- 184 Inter opus nectunt uaries *C*
aliae *Gyr.*
- 189 Mille sub exiguo ponentibus tempore uera *C*
Mille sub exiguum fuerient tibi pignora tempus *Gyr.*
- 190 Res oculique docent res ipsae credere cogunt *C*
Res oculos ducunt cogent *Gyr.*

This is a very bad variant: C is in every way superior.

- 198 Pellitur exutae glomeratur nimbus harenae *C*
 Pellitur exhaustae glomeratim *Gyr.*
 233 Ordine quaeue suo errant incondita cura *C*
 quae suos seruent incondita motus *Gyr.*
 245 Quo uolet Orion quo setius incubet index *C*
 Qua uocet Orion excubet *Gyr.*
 251 Et quae nunc miranda tulit natura notare *C*
 Quaeque in ea *Gyr.*

s. est

- 253 Nam quae mortalis spes quaeue amentia maior C
mortali cuiquam est Gyr.
- 254 In Iouis errantem regno perquirere uelle C
diuos Gyr.

I shall now mention those readings of *Gyr.* which on internal grounds may confidently be pronounced *wrong*. The most decided case is one which Alzinger's collection of Lucretian parallels first brought into prominence. Alzinger

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shows (*Studia in Aetnam Collata*, p. 98) that Lucretius twice combines *unde repente* vi. 667, 1090. In agreement with this we find in *Aetn.* 280 *unde repente quies*, for so it is written in *C.* *Gyr.* as reported by *I* and Laur. 33. 9 give *unde reperta quies*, which looks like a bad correction and is undoubtedly wrong.

A second case is 259. There the poet speaking of man's restless activity, describes him as torturing the earth with fire and iron tools to wring from it its secret, *Torquentur flamma terrae ferroque domantur*; so *C.* *Gyr.* gave *Torrentur* a commonplace word, which has no special force (Alzinger, *Der Wert des Cod. Gyrald.* p. 858).

A third case is 222. It is in a passage modelled on *Geor.* iv. 6 *In tenui labor, at tenuis non gloria.*

Aetn. 221 inmensus labor est sed fertilis idem.
 Digna laborantis respondent praemia curis.

Gyr. had *Pigra laboratis*. We need no reference to Vergilian parallels (Alz. quotes *Aen.* ix. 252 *Quae uobis quae digna, uiri, pro laudibus istis Praemia posse rear solui?*) to prove the superiority of *C*: *digna praemia* and *laborantis curis* correspond and harmonize: in *Gyr.* not only is *Pigra* in opposition to the poet's aim, which is to prove that if the task is vast, it has its *adequate* reward, but *laboratis curis* is artificial and belongs to the later latinity of Val. Flaccus and Statius.

It would seem from this investigation that the *a priori* suspicions attaching to the Gyraldinian variants are reinforced by an examination of the variants themselves. Some few of them are indubitably wrong: others are barely, if at all, intelligible; a large number must have been wrongly or imperfectly reported; a still larger number are of the kind

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which a well-trained scholar might easily make: and in some cases has actually made.

On the other hand a certain proportion of them justifies the description of Heinsius, as far more correct than the vulgate text, as he knew it from Aldus, Scaliger, and Pithou. But these editions were printed from fifteenth century MSS. and reproduced all their errors. Heinsius had no good standard to appeal to; no codex of an early period like *C* or the Stabulensian fragment was known to him. Davies of Cambridge, indeed, seems to have examined *C* early in the eighteenth century: but this was after Heinsius' death. We may see the wretched state in which the criticism of *Aetna* remained all through the seventeenth century¹, from Le Clerc's edition; and how little scientific knowledge could effect where good MSS. did not supply a trustworthy basis of criticism.

It must not, however, be forgotten that we have still extant in Laur. 33. 9 a short passage of *Aetna*, written in a hand of the fifteenth century: that this fragment contains the last sixteen verses of the very portion of the poem to which the *Gyr.* excerpts belong, and that its readings, except in one or two instances, agree with these excerpts. It is a reasonable inference that the other *Gyr.* excerpts come from a source ultimately the same, and therefore that we cannot lightly dismiss them as without authority. This becomes more important in reference to the two extra verses which the *Gyr.* excerpts include, *Haec operi(s) uisenda sacri sedesque domusque*; and *Sex cum nocte rapi, totidem cum luce referri*. These two verses are excellent in themselves, and since their publication in the eighteenth century have generally been accepted as genuine, e. g. by Jacob, Haupt, Munro, Bährens, and Sudhaus.

¹ And indeed till the latter half of the nineteenth.

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Whatever suspicion attaches to them, they share in common with the other excerpts: it is not *inconceivable* that they were written by modern scholars, but it is far more likely that they were in the MS. whence Laur. 33. 9 was copied, and from which, presumably, the other, or most of the other, excerpts came.

Similarly, it would be rash to assert that the right location of the three verses *Scrutamur rimas—Quaeritur argenti—Torrentur*¹ *flamma* did not also exist in the same codex: no one can *prove* that it came into the copy of Pithou containing the *Gyr.* variants from some one of the printed texts of *Aetna*², or from a note written in manuscript by some scholar of the sixteenth or seventeenth century. But the doubt *will* suggest itself, and finds some confirmation from the fact that the Esc. extracts give these three verses (in this order 278–276–277) after 261 (wrongly written *Turpe silent artes uiles inopesque relictæ*) not after 277.

And this feeling of doubt will assert and re-assert itself perpetually in every fresh survey of these lections. The goodness of some, the apparent certainty of a few, amongst them, at first sway the reader to unhesitating acceptance of the whole collection. Any weak points which they may offer he is ready for a time to forget or ignore. Thus, to take one of the passages which seems to have been known to Heinsius,

Nosse fidem rebus dubiasque exquirere causas
Sacra peringentem capitique attollere caelum
Scire quot et quae sint magno natalia mundo
Principia

¹ *Torquentur C.*

² e. g. Scaliger's, who has an express note on the point.

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the brilliancy of *Gyr.*'s correction

Ingenium sacrare¹ caputque attollere caelo

obscures the fact that *Gyr.* also gives *fatalia*, a v. l. which is manifestly wrong.

It may be argued, that as all the *Gyr.* variants profess to have *V* attached to them, they all stand on the same footing, and are all drawn from an ancient source. But (1) neither the Iena editor nor Matthiae are explicit on this point, (2) even if they were, we cannot be sure of the exactitude with which they have been transmitted, from their earliest appearance in the *cod. vetustissimus*, to copyists of the fifteenth century, thence to transcribers like Gyraldus in the sixteenth, or excerptors like Ernst in the seventeenth. Pithou's *Epigrammata et Poematia uetera*, in a copy of which the *Gyr.* excerpts were written, is not earlier than 1590; if the *cod. vetust.* was really of the eighth century, an interval of 800 years elapsed between the *fons primus* and the earliest date at which they *could* have been copied into Pithou. If Ernst² himself copied them into Pithou, this date will be removed to forty or fifty years later; and if they are a copy *from* an original supplied by Ernst, this will bring them later still. As we actually know them, they are transmitted from the middle and end of the eighteenth century.

The conclusion then to which our inquiry has brought us, is that the *Gyr.* variants cannot be accepted unreservedly as ancient or genuine; that such of them as, by general consent, are of commanding excellence, must not blind

¹ Seneca, *N. Q.* iv. Praef. 10, has *ingenium consecrare* (Sudhaus).

² Assuming him to be the Ernst who made the Catalogue of Laurentian MSS.

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our judgment to the impossible character of some, the improbable character of many: and that where they are in marked antagonism to *CS*, the two actually extant MSS. of *Aetna* which we know to belong to an early date, we are bound to give our first consideration to *CS*, our second to *Gyr*¹.

THE EXCERPTA PITHOEANA

Variants in *Aetna*, from *MS. D'Orv.* x. 1, 6, 6=195².

- P. 36³ Cornelli Seueri *Aetna in m.* Apollonius apud Philostrate. l. v.
ib. 7 properent *in m.* properant.
p. 37, 2 adversum *in m.* aversum.
p. 38 deletur, *nota marg.* victor. •
p. 41, 8 vicula *in m.* vincla.
p. 44, 9 imbres *in m.* yris.
ib. 20 jacent *in m.* latent.
ib. 25 nunc *in m.* tot.

¹ It may be interesting to see what was thought of the *Gyr.* variants by Walch, the editor of *Act. Soc. Lat. Ienensis* in which they were first published in 1756. In the Praefatio to the volume Walch writes thus:—*Utrum omnes ac singulae loca male adfecta sanent et corrupta sic restituant, ut nulla amplius dicti isti poetae medicina egeant, nolo equidem definire, hoc tamen certissimum est, permulta effata* (? errata) *harum lectionum ope optime emendari; aut certe ex collatis inter se lectionibus, altera vulgari altera horum codicum, quomodo legendum forte sit, haud difficulter erui posse.* It is true that he includes with the *Gyr.* variants, two sets of variants on other poets (*dicti isti poetae*), which immediately follow. But the tone of his judgment is unmistakably hesitating: he speaks, at best, modestly, and with no trace of the confidence which has led so many critics of the nineteenth century to place unqualified confidence in *Gyr.*

² This paper was originally published in *The Classical Review* for 1900, p. 123. I have since made some corrections.

³ P. 36 refers to the second part of Pithou's *Epigrammata et Poemata Vetera*, 1590.

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- ib. 26 magna *in m.* magis. (*Gyr.*)
- p. 45, 3 taceant *in m.* iaceant.
- ib. 7 dignissima *in m.* ditissima.
- ib. 10 caussae *in m.* curae.
- ib. 11 et dolia *in m.* ut dolia. (*Gyr.*)
- ib. 16 occulto *in m.* occultum.
- ib. 18 animumque *in m.* animosque. (*Gyr.*)
- ib. 20 euertimus *in m.* euerrimus.
- ib. 26 concrescant *in m.* cur crescant.
- p. 46, 5 una *in m.* unda.
- ib. 6 curas *in m.* auras.
- p. 48, 16 aut aquilone, &c., *in m.* Virgil.
- p. 49, 20 uera *in m.* sera.
- ib. 22 robore *in m.* robora. (*Le Clerc.*)
- ib. 26 et potes, &c., *in m.* Plautus.
- p. 50, 17 iacet *in m.* iacens.
- ib. 22 dicitur, &c., *in m.* superest.
- ib. 23 exstincta super: testisque Neapolim. *Corrigitur*: exstin
super testisque cta: ~~testis superque~~ Neapolin.
- p. 51, 27 et tuto *in m.* e tuto. (*Scal.*)
- p. 52, 4 sopita et *in m.* scobis iis.
- ib. 15 curtis *in m.* curvis. (*D'Orville*, *Sicula* p. 239 (1764)
and Munro.)
- p. 53, 4 cunctis *in m.* unco.
- ib. 15 ubi certo *in m.* certo sibi.
- ib. 18 portam *in m.* formam.
- ib. 19 tenet *in m.* tener.
- ib. 21 vultu perdidit igneis *in marg.* vultum perdidit igni.
(*igne Scal.*)
- p. 54, 2 et ibi *in marg.* igni.
- ib. 7. plumbi *in m.* plumbum. (*Le Clerc.*)
- ib. 22 nostro fervet moderatior usu *in m.* nostros fervet modera-
tus in usus.
- ib. 27 trementeis *in m.* frementeis.
- ib. 29 fama *in m.* forma. (*Wolf.*)
- p. 55, 5 Ogygus *corrigitur* Ogygiis.
- ib. 6 que *in m.* quae.
- ib. 17 carmen *in m.* crimen.

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- p. 55, 18 vestra en *in m. vestras*.
 ib. 19 evocat in silvis, &c., *in m. Devocet in silvis, at.*
 ib. 21 victis *in m. multis*.
 ib. 26 parte *in m. arte. (Scal.)*
 ib. 29 velatusque *in marg. Cicer.*
 p. 56, 7 excanduit *in m. incanduit.*
 ib. 11 torquet *in m. torpet. (Scal.)*
 ib. 14 tremebant *in m. tremendum. (Jacob, Munro.)*
 ib. 18 stulta *in m. summa.*
 ib. 20 nimium *in m. minimo. (Dorat.)*
 ib. 25 Concrepat ac *in marg. Concremat ah. (Dorat.)*
 ib. 27 Amphinomus . . . fortes *in m. Amphionus . . . sortis.*
 ib. 29 senemque *in m. senilem.*
 ib. 30 eheu *in m. aevo.*
 p. 57, 13 illeque se posuit *in m. illos seposuit.*
 ib. 15 vere . . . iura *in m. purae . . . rura. (purae Haupt, rura Heinsius.)*

These variants on *Aetna* are drawn from MS. D'Orville 195=Auct. x. 1, 6, 6 (17073 in Madan's Catalogue), containing on p. 1 this superscription 'Notae et emendationes Petri Pithoei¹ in librum, cui titulus est Epigrammata & poematia vetera, Parisiis 1590 in 12.' The MS. was written in the first half of the eighteenth century (Madan): but it appears to be a bona fide copy of notes and emendations either actually in Pithou's own hand, or believed to be so. Some of the variants are interesting as identical with those of scholars long after Pithou; others as perfectly new suggestions which appear to be of value in desperately corrupt passages. I will mention them in order.

251 The Cambridge MS. *C* has *Et quae nunc miranda tulit natura notare*, *D'Orv.* gives *Et quae tot*. This seems better than the so-called Gyraldinian reading *Quaeque in ea*.

252 *C* has

Haec nobis magna adfinis caelestibus astris.

Gyr. is said to have had *magis*. Whether right or wrong, *D'Orv.* here agrees with *Gyr.*

¹ Pierre Pithou died in 1596.

THE EXCERPTA PITHOEANA

261 Tum demum uiles taceant inopésque relictæ.

So *C.* *Gyr.* had *humilesque iacent*, whence Matthiæ (1797) conj. *uiles iaceant* as *D'Orv.*

268 Grata leues cruciant animos et corpora causæ. *C.*

Bährens (1880) conj. *curæ* : and so *D'Orv.*

269 Horrea uti saturent tumeant et dolea musto.

So *C.* The reported reading of *Gyr.* is *tumeant ut* ; and so *D'Orv.*

278 (257) Scrutamur rimas et uertimus omne profundum.

So *C.* *euerrimus* of *D'Orv.* is also a late eighteenth-century conj. of Schrader's.

281 Concrecant animi penitus seu forte cauernæ.

So *C.* Scaliger corrected *concrecant* to *cur crescant*, and so *D'Orv.* Probably Pithou took it from Scaliger's edition.

290 Praecipiti delecta sono premit una fugatque. *C.*

unda Scaliger : and so *D'Orv.* probably from Scal.

291 Torrentes auras pulsataque corpora denset. *C.*

curas is in Scaliger's 1572 edition, and was left uncorrected by him. The right reading *auras* in not only in *C.* but in *Rehd.* and most MSS. as well as Ald. 1517.

398 Vera tenaxque data est sed maxima causa mola acris. *C.*

The v.l. *Sera* is new, but what meaning can it bear ?

400 Quem si forte manu teneas ac robore cernas. *C.*

robora is a conj. of Le Clerc (Gorallus) : and so *D'Orv.*

423 In cinerem putresque iacit delapsus harenas. *C.*

iacens of *D'Orv.* is strange ; it is not an improvement, and can hardly be a modern emendation. Did Pithou draw it from a lost codex ? It is not one of the variants of *Gyr.* The real doubt in this passage is between *iacit* of *C.* and *iacet* of *Rehd.* and *Arund.* For *iacens* there can be no place : but its futility makes it noticeable.

428 Dicitur insidiis flagrans enarea quondam

Nunc extincta super testisque neapolin inter

Et Cumas locus. *C.*

Very remarkable are the notes of *D'Orv.* here (1) on 428 in *m.*

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superest (2) on 429. I take the two as mutually explaining each other: that is to say, the reading of the MS. from which Pithou drew the v.l. of 429 as I have copied it from *D'Orv.* was in some way confused, particularly in *-cta* of *tincta* being separated from *tin-*; and *superest* was written in the margin of the line before (428). This appears to me a strong confirmation of my conjecture in vol. ii. of the *Corpus* now editing by Prof. Postgate *Nunc extincta [diu] superestque Neapolin inter.* Another conj. of mine *uncis* (507), published in the *Journal of Philology* for 1887 p. 309, nearly coincides with *unco* of *D'Orv.*, where MSS. give *iunctis*.

464 Et tuto speculaberis omnia collis. C.

e tuto Scaliger and so *D'Orv.*

475 Asperior sopitaes et quaedam sordida faex est. C.

Scobis iis seems to be new, but is not a good correction.

486 Quippe nihil reuocat curtis nihil ignibus obstat. C.

curuis (*D'Orv.*) is a correction made independently by *D'Orville* himself, and also by *Munro*.

518 Quae tripidat certe uerum tibi pignore constat. C.

D'Orv. has *uerum certo sibi*, wrongly, but *sibi* looks like a corruption of the genuine reading *tibi*, which is only to be found in *C* (a MS. of which Pithou had no knowledge), and *certo* is undoubtedly right. Whence did Pithou draw *certo* and *sibi*? *certo* is in *Scal.*, but Pithou *may* have got it from a MS., since it is found in *Sloan. 777*; or both *certo* and *sibi* were conjectures by Pithou himself.

585 Tu quoque Athenarum carmen tam nobile sidus

Erigone sedes uestra est philomella canoris

Euocat in siluis. C.

D'Orv. has here three notes, *crimen* for *carmen*, an old emendation; *uestras* for *uestra en* which is printed in Pithou's text (1590), *Deuocat* for *Euocat*. Little is to be got, I think, from either (1) or (3); but (2) is suggestive.

THE EXCERPTA PITHOEANA

Suppose the v. to have been gradually corrupted thus

Erigone sedes¹ uestras en philomela canoris

we may reconstitute it thus

Erigone's (or, Erigonae's) dequesta sen[em]; philomela canoris *dequesta* is found in Val. Fl. v. 448 *secum dequesta labores*, Stat. T. i. 404 *notos dequestus*, xi. 627 *Talia dequestus: senem* is of course Erigone's father Icarius; see the story in Hygin. Fab. 130.

Of the remaining variants not much is to be said: *Arte* (593), *torpet* (608), *Illos seposuit* (642) are in Scaliger, *tremendum* (611) was conj. (1826) by Jacob, *minimo* (617) and *concremat* (622) by Dorat, *purae* (644) by Haupt, *rura* (644) by Heinsius.

¹ The dots added to e s r mean that these letters were not in the verse as written by the poet, but erroneous additions of a later time.

III

A POSSIBLE SOURCE OF 'AETNA'

THE pseudo-Aristotelian treatise *Περὶ Κόσμου* has many points in common with our poem. It is a little work, only twenty-eight octavo pages in Bekker's Oxford edition of 1837; for this very reason the resemblances are more striking. They have not, so far as I know, been noticed by any one hitherto. They are of two kinds, (1) general, (2) particular.

I. *a.* Both the *Περὶ Κόσμου* and the poem exhibit the same enthusiasm for scientific research and the investigation of natural phenomena.

v. 8 Bekk. *Τίς δὲ τῶν ἐπὶ μέρους δύναται ἂν ἐξισωθῆναι τῇ κατ' οὐρανὸν τάξει τε καὶ φορᾷ τῶν ἀστρῶν ἡλίου τε καὶ σελήνης, κινουμένων ἐν ἀκριβεστάτοις μέτροις ἐξ αἰῶνος εἰς ἕτερον αἰῶνα; τίς δὲ γένοιτο ἂν ἀψεύδεια τοιάδε, ἣν τινα φυλάττουσιν αἱ καλά καὶ γόνιμοι τῶν ὄλων ὄραι, θέρη τε καὶ χειμῶνας ἐπάγουσαι τεταγμένως, ἡμέρας τε καὶ νύκτας, εἰς μηνὸς ἀποτελεσμα καὶ ἐνιαυτοῦ;*

Aetn. 221 sqq.

inmensus labor est sed fertilis idem,
and particularly 246–249.

Et quaecumque iacent tanto miracula mundo
Non disiecta pati, nec aceruo condita rerum,
Sed manifesta notis certa disponere sede
Singula, diuina est animi ac iucunda uoluptas.

b. Both works enforce the conception of God as withdrawn from any particular interference with the world, of

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whose existence and conservation he is notwithstanding a necessary condition.

vi. 4 Σωτήρ μὲν γὰρ ὄντως ἀπάντων ἐστὶ καὶ γενέτωρ τῶν ὁπωσδήποτε κατὰ τόνδε τὸν κόσμον συντελουμένων ὁ θεός, οὐ μὲν αὐτουργοῦ καὶ ἐπιπόνου ζῶον κάματον ὑπομένων, ἀλλὰ δυνάμει χρώμενος ἀτρύτφ, δι' ἧς καὶ τῶν πόρρω δοκούντων εἶναι περιγίγνεται.

ιβ. 8 Κρείττον οὖν ὑπολαβεῖν . . . ὥς ἡ ἐν οὐρανῷ δύναμις ἰδρυμένη καὶ τοῖς πλείστον ἀφεστηκόσιν . . . αἰτία γίνεται σωτηρίας, μᾶλλον ἢ ὥς διήκουσα καὶ φοιτῶσα ἔνθα μὴ καλὸν μηδὲ εὐσχημον αὐτουργεῖ τὰ ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς.

Aetn. 32

non est tam sordida diuis

Cura neque extremas ius est demittere in artes

Sidera : subducto regnant sublimia caelo

Illa neque artificum curant tractare laborem.

Compare what the poet says in derision of the idea that anything like poverty or stint is to be looked for in the supernatural working of a volcano.

Aetn. 369 sqq.

Non est diuinis tam sordida rebus egestas

Nec paruas mendicat opes nec *conrogat* (asks for contributions of) auras,

and his insistence on the sublime *secrecy* of the divine operations, a secrecy which makes it dangerous to come near or in close contact with Aetna when an eruption is approaching, and which invests the mountain with ever-increasing awfulness.

Aetn. 191 sqq.

Quin etiam tactu moneam contingere, tuto

Si liceat; prohibent flammae, custodiaque ignis

Illi operum est arcens aditus, diuinaque rerum

Vt maior species et ne succurrat inanis

Cura sine arbitrio est.

c. The grandeur of the cosmic plan is illustrated both in the *Περὶ Κόσμου* and the poem, as well by the heavenly

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bodies and the periodic revolution of the seasons ; as by the marvels which the *earth* exhibits, with its seas and rivers, its caverns and subterranean spaces, its exhalations, rains, mists, snows, frosts, thunders, lightnings, and especially *winds*.

The planets are treated ii. 7, and their names given ii. 8 and 9 ; the zodiac, ii. 7 ; the regularity of the seasons, v. 9 ; and the relief which creation feels from their alternation, v. 13. With this compare the fine passage of *Aetna* 230-245.

The *earth* is described, ii. 1, iii. 1-7, as a store-house and fount of hidden *fire* (Lipara, *Aetna*), iv. 26 ; of *wind*, which in the struggle to escape, produces earthquakes, iv. 29. The sea, iii. 8 sqq. ; rivers, river-exhalations, hail, &c., iv. 1-3 ; wind, iv. 10 ; its connexion with fire in lightning and thunder, iv. 17, 18, 19, 20.

Most of these topics are included in *Aetna*, some of them at great length, e.g. the action of *wind*, which forms the staple of the poem, and is declared to be the main cause not only of volcanic eruptions, but earthquakes,

171 sqq.

Hinc uenti rabies, hinc saeue quassat hiatu
Fundamenta soli : trepidant urbesque caducae
Inde.

In the poem, again, much is said of the effects of water and of exhalations from rivers or springs (310-316), and an argument is drawn from the action of moisture as we see it, to its unseen action in the bowels of the earth. Even the glow of feeling with which the author of the *Περὶ Κόσμου* describes (iii. 1) the earth as 'teeming with plants and animals, and diversified with countless forms of verdure, high mountains, deep-timbered forests, cities founded by that marvel of cleverness, man, islands surrounded with sea, continents,'

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has its parallel in the passage of *Aetna* where the poet, passing from the sublime phenomena of the heavens, insists on the study of earth as only second in importance, however much man may misuse it for his own slight purposes, and turn what ought to be a lofty investigation into a mere occasion of greed (250-270). It is perhaps a mere accident that in the *list of trees* which both writers give, not only the vine and the olive, but the comparatively unfrequent *plane*, is included (vi. 37, *Aetn.* 265).

Of the *sea* alone, our poet says little or nothing ; but the description of the Mediterranean and its islands in the *Περὶ Κόσμου* seems to have been known to another Roman poet, Manilius, iv. 595 sqq.

II. The following points of agreement are of a more special kind. I mention them *seriatim*, beginning with the less important, and ending with the more striking and significant.

1. In the opening section of his treatise the writer of the *Περὶ Κόσμου* contrasts the impossibility of the human body attaining to the sight of the heavenly region with the tranquil and unimpeded contemplation of the same region by the philosophic soul. The folly of the former aspiration is illustrated by the example of the Aloadae, giants who tried to ascend the sky by piling Ossa on Olympus, Pelion on Ossa (Apollod. i. 7. 4).

This story of the giants invading heaven is similarly introduced by the poet of *Aetna* as a mythological explanation of the volcano's eruptions: it was a popular belief that Enceladus was buried under Aetna in punishment for the giants' attempt. But whereas in the *Περὶ Κόσμου* the myth is only alluded to, in the poem it occupies a prominent place, and takes up no less than twenty-three lines (41-73).

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2. Both writers allude to the *mental eye*, the Greek of the philosophic soul, the Roman of the poet's intuition.

i. 2 Ἐπειδὴ γὰρ οὐχ οἶόν τε ἦν τῷ σώματι εἰς τὸν οὐράνιον ἀφικέσθαι τόπον καὶ τὴν γῆν ἐκλιπόντα τὸν οὐράνιον ἐκείνον χώρον κατοπτεῦσαι, καθάπερ οἱ ἀνθρώποι ποτε ἐπενόουν Ἀλωάδαι, ἡ γοῦν ψυχὴ διὰ φιλοσοφίας λαβοῦσα ἡγεμόνα τὸν νοῦν ἐπεραιώθη καὶ ἐξεδήμησεν. Again, θείῃ ψυχῇς ὁματι τὰ θεῖα καταλαβοῦσα.

Aetn. 76

uates

Sub terris nigros uiderunt carmine manes.

85

speculantur numina diuum

Nec metuunt oculos alienomittere caelo.

3. Fire the *swiftest* of things.

iv. 18 Ὅταν τὸ μὲν τάχιστον ἢ τῶν ὄντων, λέγω δὲ τὸ πυρῶδες, τὸ δὲ ἥττον ταχύ, ἀερῶδες ὄν.

Aetn. 213

semper

Ingenium uelox illi (*sc.* igni) motusque perennis.

4. The simile in the *Περὶ Κόσμου*, comparing the action of the Cosmos with what happens in an army when the trumpet has sounded, may possibly have suggested two passages of *Aetna*.

vi. 23 Ἐοικε δὲ κομιδῇ τὸ δρώμενον τοῖς ἐν πολέμῳ καιροῖς μάλιστα γινομένοις ἐπειδὰν ἡ σάλπιγξ σημήνῃ τῷ στρατοπέδῳ· τότε γὰρ τῆς φωνῆς ἕκαστος ἀκούσας ὁ μὲν ἀσπίδα ἀναιρεῖται, ὁ δὲ θώρακα ἐνδύεται, ὁ δὲ κνημῖδας ἢ κράνος ἢ ζωστήρα περιτίθεται, κ.τ.λ.

Aetn. 469–473, where the struggle of the fire to gain the mastery over the resisting rocks is compared with the various stages of a battle.

Aetn. 615

Colligit ille arma et stulta ceruice reponit,

where the poet describes the Catinaeans, on the approach of the lava-flood, shouldering their respective burdens, gold, armour, poems, &c.

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It is not pretended that these two passages of *Aetna* could be more than a *remote suggestion* from the prose treatise : this is all that can be claimed.

5. Both writers appeal in a marked manner to *Heraclitus*, both with an allusion to his obscurity.

v. 5 Ταῦτὸ δὲ τοῦτο ἦν καὶ τὸ παρὰ τῷ σκοτεινῷ λεγόμενον Ἡρακλείτῳ.

vi. 37 Πάν γὰρ ἐρπετὸν τὴν γῆν νέμεται, ὥς φησιν Ἡράκλειτος.

Aetn. 536

Cogitet obscuri uerissima dicta libelli,
Heraclite, tui.

6. The *Περὶ Κόσμον* has a distinct reference to Aetna's craters, and in connexion with them to the *Legend of the Pious Brethren*, which forms the concluding episode of the poem.

vi. 32 Αἱ δὲ (φλόγες) πρὸς ἐσπέραν ἐκ γῆς ἀναβλύσασαι καὶ ἐκφυσήσασαι, καθάπερ τῶν ἐν Αἴτνῃ κρατήρων ἀναρραγέντων καὶ ἀνὰ τὴν γῆν φερομένων χειμάρρου δίκην. Ἐνθα καὶ τὸ τῶν Εὐσεβῶν γένος ἐξόχως ἐτίμησε τὸ δαιμόνιον, περικαταληφθέντων ὑπὸ τοῦ ρεύματος διὰ τὸ βαστάζειν γέροντας ἐπὶ τῶν ὤμων γονεῖς καὶ σώζειν' πλησίον γὰρ αὐτῶν γενόμενος ὁ τοῦ πυρὸς ποταμὸς ἐξεσχίσθη, παρέτρεψέ τε τοῦ φλογμοῦ τὸ μὲν ἔνθα, τὸ δ' ἔνθα, καὶ ἐτήρησεν ἀβλαβεῖς ἅμα τοῖς γονεῦσι τοὺς νεανίσκους.

IV

ANALYSIS OF THE POEM

(1-8) My song is of Aetna and its subterranean fires. May Apollo inspire me for the task.

(9-28) The ancient subjects of poetry are exhausted and have become over-trite. Mine is a hardier effort, to explain the causes of Aetna's eruptions and of its burning lava-flood.

(29-73) We must not be deluded by the fictions of poetry about this. Aetna is not Vulcan's forge, nor the Cyclops' workshop. Such belief is a desecration of the divine calm of the gods. Nor is it a record of the conflict between the giants and the gods: Enceladus is not buried under Aetna, the flames of the volcano are not the penal fires exhaled from his throat as he lies in torture.

(74-93) Such stories are the lies of poets, comparable with their fabled Tartarus, and its punishments of Tityos, Tantalus, and Ixion. Poetry even invades heaven; it is acquainted with all the gods do, every detail of Jupiter's amours. Such lies are not for me: my only aspiration is the attainment of truth.

(94-143) The earth is not a solid whole, it is hollow beneath and filled with cracks and chasms, through which air is passing continually, just as blood passes through the veins of a living creature. Like a heap of stones formed by casual accretion, it is hollowed with successive interstices and hangs upon itself. The causes of such vacua beneath the earth are doubtful: their existence is proved by the sudden emergence of rivers from it and their sudden disappearance into it. For if the earth were solid and without pores or hollows, such rivers could find no channel for their waters. Similarly, the presence of wind-

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channels inside the earth may be shown from what we see outside, vast gaps in the ground, landslips in which the soil parts off and falls in ruin or plunges deep down, again forest-caverns that sink far into the depths : types all of what happens where our eyes cannot penetrate.

(146-157) Fire and wind agree in this : their fury is more violent in proportion as they are more closely pent in, the farther down their sphere of action, the more resolute their escape, and the more violent the effects of the struggle. Rushing on where the encompassing matter is least hard and most yielding, they force a way to the surface : the straining and convulsion of the pores thus produced causes earthquakes.

(158-174) It is a wrong inference from the large orifices and chasms which meet the eye at the surface, that volcanic disturbances have their origin there. These disturbances come from below and are proportioned to the amount of resistance the winds encounter in the channels through which they pass. Where the channel widens, their force is diminished. It is the pressure of winds one upon another in very narrow passages which is the condition of their fury, and the cause of those appalling cracks and convulsive heavings which lay cities in ruins.

(175-186) Aetna is itself the best proof of the potent causes which are at work within. It has a world of wonders to strike the eye : huge sudden abysses, rocks here projecting, there called in, elsewhere crossed and interrupted by masses of stone in complex groupings, some completely changed by the action of fire, others imperfectly reduced and still submitted to its action.

(187-217) If you ask what is the cause that produces the outbreaks of Aetna as we know them, I appeal to what we *see* ; to *touch* we are not permitted, the force of the explosion making it dangerous to come near. Ignited sand is whirled up in a cloud, burning masses of rock are heaved skywards, a loud crash bursts from every part of the mountain, the ground is strewn in every direction with masses of sand and stone. The agents in all this are wind and air ; or, more precisely, *spirit*, which is the name for air in a tense form. Without this *spirit*

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fire can do nothing : by itself it is almost powerless, in spite of its natural velocity and ceaseless motion ; it is only when reinforced by *spirit* that it can be brought to act.

(218-221) I shall now proceed to inquire where the wind that feeds the flame comes from, and why its fury subsides and sinks into absolute inaction.

(222-271) *Digression on the grandeur of physical research.* The highest pleasure of the human soul is to search into the causes of things. What is the origin of the universe, what is the nature of its framework? Will it pass into extinction, or go on for ever? By what degrees is the moon's orbit less than the sun's? What stars have a fixed circuit, what are the alternations of the zodiacal signs? What makes the sun pale, the moon redden? What do the stars teach us? How do they severally regulate our lives, whether on land or sea?

(250-271) Such lofty speculations should be our chief end and aim, as indeed they are our highest and most divine pleasure. Nor should we forget meanwhile the earth, which has even an earlier claim on our attention, and teems with marvels of its own. Folly it were indeed to explore the sky and the stars, yet indolently neglect the no less grand spectacle that lies before us and at our feet. But what is the fact? Man does indeed busy himself with the earth about him, but only to wear himself out with trifling cares and sordid details, the one purpose of which is to accumulate gain. To trace a vein of gold or silver in the mine; to torture the soil in order that it may yield the very most it can; to examine with the minutest care whether it will bear corn, or vines, or olives, or forest-trees; to have overflowing barns, casks distended with must, hay-racks filled to the brim; such are the ignoble cares which occupy all our thoughts, and upon which we are content to spend our misused time.

(272-304) Far other are the aspirations of the philosophic soul. It would fain explore the secret of the earth, understand each operation of nature, not be overpowered by fear of Aetna's outbreaks, assert the supremacy of mind against the fables of superstition. Why are the winds of Aetna sometimes sunk into complete repose, at others roused to exceptional fury?

ANALYSIS OF THE POEM

Whence is the fire fed? Do the cavernous spaces and apertures form a storehouse of air and wind? or does the earth draw in air through minute openings in its surface, especially at the point where the mountain rises to a peak, and is thus peculiarly exposed to the combined assault of diverse winds? Or again, are the clouds the agents, the water in them pressing on the still bodies of air inside, and thus setting them in motion? Then we might compare their action with that of a Triton whose trumpet is blown by a mechanism in which water sets air in motion, or again, with an hydraulic organ. We may draw inferences from what we see outside to what happens within the earth. The air- and *spirit*-particles inside Aetna jostle each other, and in the struggle to escape crowding drag with them anything that stands immediately in their way.

(305-327) You may object that there are other causes of wind different from those just alleged. At any rate you will allow that rocks tumble underground with a loud crash, setting in motion the air near them, and by its dispersion generating wind. River-vapours, clouds that form in valleys, or even very small water-courses, discharge air, as we see: much more potent must be the effect of moisture in the pent and stifling caverns underground where we cannot trace their working. Two comparisons may help to express their action; waves acted upon by violent east winds, where one breaker comes up after another, the last crowding on the first; again, the *siphon* by which water is forced upwards and brought to bear on burning houses.

(328-356) You are not to suppose that the wind rushes down the same orifice by which it returns. What we see disproves it. The same still sullen cloud is uniformly visible over the summit of Aetna, shifting its position as the light breeze sways it, otherwise unalterable. Again, when no eruption is going on, incense is offered to the gods, on the very central part of the crater. This is inconsistent with any *constant* action of strong winds, ascending or descending. If then your eyes prove to you the calm which Aetna can assume, you will not believe that the winds which cause the explosion necessarily come from without. Such quiescence leads to a different conclusion.

PROLEGOMENA

Aetna has two states, one of violence and fury, the other of silent preparation within, when an eruption is still far off.

(357-399) Whatever may be the cause that gives such potency to the air in the volcano, the phenomena of eruption are the same, fiery masses of rock, showers of black sand, stones shivering as they encounter each other, detonating flashes. It is not true that after such an explosion, time must elapse before another can ensue; such attenuation of force is no part of the divine ordering of nature. It is owing to some obstruction in the channels through which the *spirit* passes that such lulls happen: a mass of rock gets in the way and prevents the air from within escaping, or the winds from without penetrating to the interior. But such stoppage and the delay it occasions are followed by an outburst of proportionally increased violence; the fire bursts out with desolating fury and spreads in a lava-flood over all the adjoining country. Then is the time for all the inflammable substances in Aetna to take fire and burn, sulphur, alum, bitumen, &c. The presence of these substances is shown partly by springs of water at the foot of Aetna, which have a sulphurous or bituminous taste, partly in the form of stones which liquefy, notably the *lapis molaris* (lava-stone).

(400-422) The external look of the *molaris* would not lead you to think it could burn, but if struck with a mallet (or, iron bar), it gives out sparks, and if subjected to the action of a strong furnace-fire, it fuses quicker than iron. Its special property is to conserve fire, once kindled, with extraordinary tenacity, unlike other substances, which when burnt out, cannot be kindled again. These two facts of the *molaris*, (1) its forming the chief component of Aetna, (2) its tenacious hold on fire, when once set burning, are the chief causes of the volcanic conflagration.

(423-446) This may be tested as follows. Examine other places where volcanic phenomena exist; if they have no *molaris*, the presence of other inflammable substances is not enough to keep them in operation. Aenaria (*Ischia*), once active, is now extinct; the ground between Neapolis and Cumae (*Solfatara*), once volcanic, has long been cold, in spite of its copious supply of sulphur, in which it far exceeds Aetna. The island Strongyle

ANALYSIS OF THE POEM

(*Stromboli*) possesses not only sulphur and bitumen, but a stone which is inflammable, yet its conflagrations are short-lived. The island Hiera (*Vulcano*) has similarly cooled, and become a harbour where ships lie at anchor; only a small portion of it is still volcanic; but this is in no way comparable with Aetna. Indeed it would long ago have become extinct entirely, were it not secretly supplied from Aetna by a submarine channel.

(447-508) Facts of sight, however, are the best attestation. Round the sides of Aetna you may see stones in a state of fuming heat, and rocks with the fire smouldering in their pores. This is owing to their contact with the burning *molaris*, which gathers up the leavings of other fires and spreads its own flame to them. This is outside; *within* the volcano the *molaris* is even more potent in its solicitations (to burn). When it begins to prepare for an eruption, there are premonitory signs, such as cracking of the ground, falling away of the soil, low murmurs from the depths of the mountain, flame. When these occur it is time to withdraw to the safety of some adjoining eminence. The eruption comes in a moment, masses of burning rock are heaved into the air, shoals of black sand are driven up to the stars. They fall into the most fantastic shapes. Some look like troops under defeat, some are still maintaining a sturdy resistance to the flames: in one part the fiery foe is putting forth its whole strength and seems to pant with the effort, elsewhere it is dying gradually down. The stones thrown out have a different look. Some have a dirty and rugged-seeming surface, like the scoria from smelted iron. Others that have fallen pyramidally upon each other burn away as if in an actual furnace. Gradually the inner substance of the stone liquefies, assumes a more intense glow, and at last becomes a fiery flood which pours down the slopes of the mountain, sometimes advancing to a distance of twelve Roman miles. Obstacles that cross its path are ineffectual to stay its course—trees, rocks, earth float side by side with each other—or are consumed and absorbed by the all-assimilating lava-flood. Sometimes the unevenness of the ground brings the flood to a halt; then the waves crowd up, rising one above the other with a loud sound, looking like a sea in agitation, when billow follows billow, those in front small, those farther out

PROLEGOMENA

larger and more crested. By degrees the burning liquid stiffens and cools, losing its appearance of a waving field of flame; as the several masses congeal, they discharge a fume, and are borne onward by their own momentum with a great crashing noise; brought into conflict with something solid, they open and are seen to be white-hot in their core. Such collisions are attended by showers of sparks, which you will be wise not to come near; but however far the lava-flood may be carried by its own impetus, crossing, for instance, the river Simaethus and joining its banks, once cold and stiff, it is almost immovable.

(509-534) Beware of clinging to the delusive belief that the *molaris* is not uniform in substance, but liquefies in virtue of one of its constituent portions, hardens in obedience to another, just as when potters' clay is submitted to the action of a furnace, it has an inner substance which fuses, distinct from the remainder. It would be truer to compare the *molaris* with copper under smelting; whether smelted or not, you recognize the copper; so the *molaris*, whether in its liquefied state or not, conserves its characteristics unaltered. Its black colour is alone enough to prove how truly it is always one and the same. But I would not deny that particular kinds of stone, besides the *molaris*, have the property of burning fiercely: nor that there is a Sicilian word for rocks which implies their fusibility.

(535-566) Do not be surprised that the *molaris* is fusible. Heraclitus tells us that fire is the seed of all things, and that everything gives way to fire. We see that it is so in our own experiments with the hardest metals, copper, lead, iron, gold. True, the *molaris* does not succumb readily, with a small fire, or in open day-light. You must have a close furnace, a fire of more than average strength; then it will fuse. And where can you find a furnace like Aetna, nurse of secret flames, only comparable with the thunder-bolts launched by Jupiter? This, too, seconded by a tense *spirit* which is forced out of the narrow passages of the mountain, much as wind is forced out of bellows by a continuous series of puffs.

(567-601) Men travel over land and sea to visit famous shrines, cities of heroic or historic memories, pictures of world-wide renown: Thebes, with her walls that rose to the music of

ANALYSIS OF THE POEM

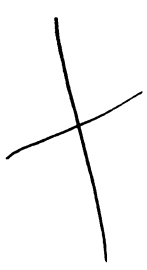
Amphion's lyre, her legends of the seven chiefs, of Amphiarus gulfed in the abyss ; of Eteocles and Polynices, whose mutual hatred continued after death, surviving in the divided fumes of their common altar : Sparta, with its sacred band of 300, the heroes of Thermopylae : Athens, sung by innumerable poets, and recalling at every step a legend : Troy and Hector ; the tombs of Hector, Achilles, Paris. We stand entranced before Apelles' Venus, Timomachus' Medea, Timanthes' Iphigenia, Myron's Heifer. Yet none of these merely human sights can rival the stupendous manifestations of the supreme artificer Nature, nowhere more wonderful in her workings than here, if only they are observed at the right time.

(602-fin.) And yet Aetna, criminal as she may be, has a pious memory of her own. Once upon a time the volcano kindled into flame and spread destruction over the surrounding country. So swift was its advance, that the Catinaeans had hardly begun to know the fire was on its way when it had already reached their walls. Snatching up each what they thought most precious—money, gold vessels, armour, poems—they fled for life : in vain, the flames surrounded and consumed them. Two only, Amphinomus and his brother, seeing their parents too infirm to escape, lifted them on their shoulders, and with this pious burden confronted the flames. O power of piety unsurpassable ! The fire gave way on either side and would not assail them : they escaped with the burden which to them was more than all treasures, their father and mother. For this they are rewarded with eternal remembrance in poetry, and a special mansion in Elysium.

AETNA

AETNA

AETNA—the fires that burst from its deep furnaces—what are those strong forces that roll on its volumes of flame, what it is that chafes at being ruled, what whirls aloft its dinning currents—shall be my song. Come thou to favour and support me as I sing, whether Cynthos hold thee, or Hyla be more acceptable than Delos, or Ladon's daughter (Daphne) be more precious in thy sight; and with thee may the Sister Muses hasten from the Pierian spring to countenance my new aspiration; the track which traverses strange ground is safer when Phoebus leads the way.



Who but has heard of the Golden Age of the king that knew not care? when no one ploughed the fields to throw in the grain, or kept noisome weeds from the crops that were to come, but overflowing harvests filled the barns for every year, Bacchus ran into wine by no foot but his own, honies distilled from the clammy leaves, Pallas set flowing her own separate streams of rich olive-oil. Then was the true graciousness of the country;

AETNA

AETNA mihi ruptique cauis fornacibus ignes,
 Et quae tam fortes uoluant incendia causae,
 Quid fremat imperium, quid raucos torqueat aestus,
 Carmen erit. Dexter uenias mihi carminis auctor
 Seu te Cynthos habet, seu Delost gratior *Hyla*, 5
 Seu tibi *Ladonis* potior, tecumque fauentes
 In noua Pierio properent a fonte sorores
 Vota: per insolitum Phoebō duce tutius itur.
 Aurea securi quis nescit saecula regis?
 Cum domitis nemo Cererem iactaret in aruis, 10 X
 Venturisque malas prōhiberet fructibus herbas,
 Annua sed saturae complerent horrea messes,
 Ipse suo flueret Bacchus pede, mellaque lentis
 Penderent foliis, et pinguis Pallas oliuae X
 Secretos amnis ageret: tum gratia ruris: 15

P. UIRGILII MARONIS AETHNA INCIPIT • C P. MARONĒ VIRG AEHTNA S

1 Aethna CS ruptisque caui *Corsinianus* 43 F 4 qui *Aetnae*
primos sex uu. habet 3 Quid fremat imperium CS *Cors.*: interius
Bormans 5, 6 *inuerso ordine habet v* 5 *om. Cors. sed in ima*
pagina scriptum est Seu te Cinthōs Cynthos CS delos (dolos S)
 gratior ila (illa Sv) CSrv: Delost gr. *Hyla Munro* 6 Seu tibi
 dodona (do dodona r) potior CS *Cors. rv*: *Ladonis Munro*
 fortasse Seu Colophona subis potior *h. e. potiore ui uates, Lucian. Bis*
Accusatus i., Stat. Theb. viii. 195-203 fauentis v *Cors.* 8 tutius
 CSv: cautius r 9 Saturni conī. *Bormans* qui CSr: quis
Sloan. 777 Munro 10 lactaret CS: iactaret r 11 Venturis
 C: Venturisque Srv malis CSrv: malas *Sloan.* fluctibus
 CS: fluctibus *Helmst.*: frugibus v: frondibus r *Arund.* 14
 pingui *codd.*: pinguis *Bormans* oliuae CS: oliua rv 15 Se
 cretos *Munro* annis r aleret *de Rooy* tum CSr: cum v

AETNA

never has it been allotted to any to have a happier knowledge of his time. Who has not told of the 'Colchians' land, that farthest bourne of heroic effort? who has not bemoaned the fate of Pergamos burning on its Argive pyre; of the mother that slew her sons so tragically? or how day turned back its course; how in shedding of seed the dragon's tooth was sown? who but has bemoaned the perjury of the traitor ship and sung the plaint of Minos' daughter forsaken on the empty shore? ay, every variation of mythology thrown into antique song.

Remember

My spirit essays the hardier labour of an untried theme. What are the motive-powers of this great working, how mighty is the force that sets at large a close body of perennial flame, and heaves with a noise like thunder masses of rock from the bottom, burning all that is nearest with floods of fire—this is the purpose of my song.

First, let none be misled by the figments of poets—that Aetna is the habitation of a god, that it is Vulcan's fire that bursts from its swelling throat, and his toiling activity that echoes through its close caverns. The gods own not a care so mean, none may rightly degrade to humblest crafts the stars: *they* rule as kings aloft in their remote heaven, and disdain to handle the task of an artisan.

Distinct from that former is this second phase that poets assume. These, say they, are the kilns the Cyclops used, when bending sturdily over the anvil to their even-timed strokes, they shook the dreadful

AETNA

Non cessit cuiquam melius sua tempora nosse.

Vltima quis tacuit iuuenum certamina Colchos?

Quis non Argolico defleuit Pergamon igni

Inpositam, et tristi natorum funere matrem,

Auersumue diem, sparsumue in semine dentem? 20

Quis non periurae doluit mendacia puppis,

Desertam uacuo Minoida litore questus?

Quidquid in antiquum tiactata est fabula carmen.

Fortius ignotas molimur pectore curas,

Qui tanto motus operi, *uis quanta* perennis 25

Explicit in denso flammis, et trumat ab imo

Ingenti sonitu moles et proxima quaeque

Ignibus irriguis urat, mens carminis haec est. }

Principio ne quem capiat fallacia uatum,

Sedes esse dei tumidisque e faucibus ignem 30

Vulcani ruere, et clausis resonare cauernis

Festinantis opus. non est tam sordida diuis

Cura neque extremas ius est demittere in artes

Sidera: subducto regnant sublimia caelo

Illa, neque artificum curant tractare laborem. 35

Discrepat a prima facies haec altera uatum.

Illis Cyclopas memorant fornacibus usos,

Cum super incudem numerosa in uerba fortes *cf Callimachus*
Thyphoea Artem.

16 Concessit S 19 Iⁿpositam S matrem r: mentem CSv
20 Aduersumue rv sparsum de saemine r: semina Scaliger
et

23 Quicquid in C: Quicquid et in S: Quicquid in rv iac-
tata CSrv Quicquid et antiquum, iam nacta est fabula car-
men Maehly: Quicquid et antiquum, iactata est fabula, carmen
Sudhaus: fort. Quidquid id 25 uis quanta ego: quae tanta

CS: que et tanta A v: quis tanta r: quis tanta Arund.: quae
causa Sloan. perenni CS: perhemni r: perendi v 26

denso C. A. Schmid: densum CSrv et rudat v 28
carminis haec est om. S spatio relicto 30 tumidis S

33 demittere CSv: demittere r Munr. 34 seducto rv 37

illis S, sed ut s serius illata uideatur: Illis C: Illi Scaliger: Illi

his Markland, Suringar 38 fortes v: fontes CSr: fontes
Arund.

AETNA

thunder-bolt with the beat of their ponderous hammers, so to give arms to Jupiter. This is a dishonouring tale, it has no voucher of its truth.

Next comes the godless fable that disturbs with Phlegra and its camp the inextinguishable fires of Aetna's summit. In days of yore the Giants aspired (O shameful deed) to thrust down from the sky the stars, and making Jupiter a captive, to transfer his sovereignty to another, and lay under their laws the conquer'd heaven. These have their proper (man's) nature down to the belly : a scaly serpent wreathes in circling coils their feet below. Huge mountains build up a mound for waging battle : Ossa presses Pelion down, Olympus' top lies heavy on Ossa. Already they are struggling to climb the mountain-masses they have piled together, a godless soldiery is challenging to close fight the affrighted constellations ; in hostile array is challenging to battle the gods one and all, moving up its standards through the ranks of the cowering stars. Jupiter quails from his place in heaven, and arming his glittering right hand with flame withdraws the sky in gloom. The Giants begin the charge with a mighty shouting : then the Father of Gods thunders with a deep tone, and the winds discordantly mustering from every quarter support

new
prohibition
which
is the only

AETNA

Horrendum magno quaterent sub pondere fulmen,
Armarentque Iouem : turpe est sine pignere carmen. 40

Proxima uiuaces Aetnaei uerticis ignes
Impia sollicitat Phlegraeis fabula castris.
Temptauere (nefas) olim detrudere mundo
Sidera, captiuique Iouis transferre gigantes
Imperium, et uicto leges inponere caelo.

His natura sua est aluo tenus : ima per orbes

Squameus intortos sinuat uestigia serpens.

Construitur magnis ad proelia montibus agger :
Pelion Ossa grauatur, summus premit Ossan Olympus,

Iam coaceruatas nituntur scandere moles,

Impius et miles metuentia comminus astra

Prouocat, infestus cunctos ad proelia diuos

Prouocat admotis per inertia sidera signis.

Iuppiter e caelo metuit dextramque coruscam

Armatus flamma remouet caligine mundum.

Incursant uasto primum clamore gigantes,

Hic magno tonat ore pater, geminantque fauentes

Vndique discordi sonitum simul agmine uenti.

45

✓ Persius
would say
disappear

50

55

39 fulmen rv : flumen CS 40 est CSrv : et F. Iacob

pignere v : pignore CS 41 uiuoces C 42 flegraeis CS 45
imponere S 46 suos v 47 intortos v : intortas CS :
intortus r 48 Costruitur S 49 Peloniossa C : Pelonossa S :
Pelleon ossa v creat CSrv : grauatur Iacob 50 Ante coacer-
uatas rasura est in S 52 tamquam glossema debebat Suringar

53 om. v admotisque tertia C : amotisque Itia S : m r uersus sic
scriptus est Prouocat . . . ad motus . . . omissis quae secuntur :
admotis qua tertia sidera signis Bormans : admotis ad territa s.
signis Haupt (ad territa iam Wassenberg ap. Suringar) : admotisque
tremetia s. s. Munro, quod idem coniecerat Borm. repudiaretque :
admotisque terit iam s. s. Sudhaus : admotis per inertia scripsi
55 flammare mouet S 57 Hinc Scaliger geminantque CSrv
fauente Wernsdorf ex Helmst. ubi est fouente 58 discordes
comitum simul agmine codd. : discordi fremitum s. a. Wakefield :
discordi sonitum s. a. Iacob Haupt Munro : fort. g. fauente Vnd.
discordes comitum simul agmine uenti. Nam fauent comitum agmina
(ἀκολούθων ὄχλοι Luc. Nigrin. 13)

AETNA

AETNA

has a name and is famous. Most of what we see on the stage is mere delusion : bards have discerned in song a dark world of subterranean ghosts, a pale realm, of Ditis amid the embers of the pyre. Some have laid Tityos sprawling in his ghastly punishment over whole acres of ground, others tempt Tantalus now with a banquet heaped about him, now with thirst ; they sing of Minos' and Aeacus' ordinances in the realms of shadow, or, again, set rolling Ixion's wheel. Whatever is part of the world that is below, some association of falsehood clings to it still. Nor are they content with earth : they are spies upon the Powers Divine and boldly let their eyes gaze into a sky that is not theirs. They know the wars of gods, their unions not revealed to men ; how often Jupiter wears a false shape to seduce, a bull for love of Europa, a white swan to win Leda, how he became a shower of flowing gold for Danae. Poetry may claim such

AETNA

Plurima pars scaenae rerum est fallacia : uates
 Sub terris nigros uiderunt carmine manes
 Atque inter cineres Ditis pallentia regna
 [Mentiti uates Stygias undasque canentes.]
 Hi Tityon †poena strauere in iugera foedum : 80
 Sollicitant illi te circum, Tantale, cena
 Sollicitantque siti : Minos, tuaque, Aeace, in umbris
 Iura canunt, idemque rotant Ixionis orbem.
 Quidquid et *infernist*, falsi consortia *adhaerent*.
 Nec tu, terra, satis : speculantur numina diuum 85
 Nec metuunt oculos alieno admittere caelo.
 Norunt bella deum, norunt abscondita nobis
 Coniugia, et falsa quotiens sub imagine peccet
 Taurus in Europen, in Ledam candidus ales,
 Iuppiter, ut Danaae pretiosus fluxerit imber : 90

76 par *Chenu* scenae CS : scenea r et *Arund.* : scenica v
 rerum CS : uerum r *Arund.* *Munro* hinc haurit nobile carmen
 Plurima pars scaenae : uerum est fallacia : uates *olim conieceram* :
 P. pars scaena et rerum *Postgate* 77 subterius r *Arund.* : sub-
 ternis v uiderunt *codd.* : finxerunt *Bormans* : luserunt *Baehrens*
 79 *spurius uidetur* canesque *Scaliger*, quod *Peerikamp* tuetur ex
Luc. vi. 733, ubi uide *Schol. Bern.* et *Seru.* ad *Aen.* iii. 209 *laudatum*
ab Usenero Mentitique rates Stygias undasque calentes *Schenkel*
Num M. ualles S. u. calentes? 80 Hii C : H S in quo praeter
 hanc unam litteram cetera omissa sunt poena Cr : septem v et *Sloan.*
 sic *Tiresias* apud *Tætsen* ad *Lycophr. Alex.* 682 nouem uel septem
 aetates dicitur uixisse strauere nouena *Haupt* poena fetum
Unger, fortasse reite, cf. *Aen.* vi. 598, *Manil.* iv. 667 81 illi
codd. circum CSr *Munro* : siccum *Scal.* cena *Baehrens* : poena C :
 poen S : pomis de *Rooy* : pomo *Haupt*, quod ut simplicissimum
Lachmanno quoque placuit : sed cf. *Lucian. Tim.* 18 ὡς περ ὁ Τάνταλος
 ἀποτοὶ καὶ ἀγενστοὶ 82 aeaccę C : post tuaque S habet e aeace sed
 ut post e erasa allera a uisa sit, tuaque ea aeace 84 Quicquid et
 interius falsi sibi conscia¹ terreut CS et sic r et *Arund.* nisi quod hi duo
 pro illo sibi conscia habent consortia : Q. e. interius falsum sibi conscia
 terra est *Bormans* : Q. e. i. falsi s. c. terret *Munro*, post haec unum u.
 excidisse censens, cuius uersus initium esset Pectora, reliqua sic suppleuit
Buecheler sub latebris fingunt consistere terrae Quicquid et interius :
 falsi s. conscia terra est *Birt* : *infernist*, *adhaerent scripsi* 85
 Nec C : N tantum in S dispicere potui 86 metuunt C 88 peccent
 CSr : peccet *Schrader* 89 laedam C : ledam S 90 om. r
 danae C : danę S praetiosus S fulxerit v

¹ In S c^scia quod nunc est, prius uidetur fuisse c^aria.

AETNA

freedom, but my care is wholly centred in truth.

I will tell what is the nature of the motion that makes Aetna boil and seethe, and how with restless greed it gathers to itself a store of ever-new fire.

*right
disappears
as*

Wherever the earth's huge ball extends, girt
about by the winding shores of its bounding sea,
it is only partially a solid; everywhere the ground falls into chasms, everywhere has been split into cracks, or, hollowed to its centre with covert-ways, shoots into narrow avenues and hangs in a vault; and as in the living creature there are veins which traverse the whole body in all directions, along which, to maintain life, the whole of the blood passes to and fro to the same one being; so the earth draws in and distributes through its chasms air. Either, that is to say, when in past ages the body of the universe was divided into sea, earth, stars, the sky had the first allotment, next the sea, earth sank down to the lowest place, yet so that it was drilled with many winding cavities here and there; and just as stones of uneven size thrown at random spring up into a heap, forming a hollow which, voided by successive spaces within, hangs upon itself; so the earth, figured similarly, expands into slender channels, and does not all close

my w. e

AETNA

Debita carminibus libertas ista, sed omnis *cf Aratus' Technigu*
 In uero mihi cura; canam quo feruida motu
 Aestuet Aetna, nouosque rapax sibi congerat ignes.

Quacumque inmensus se terrae porrigit orbis,
 Extremique maris curuis incingitur undis, 95
 Non totum ex solido est: ducit namque omnis hiatum,
 Secta est omnis humus, penitusque cauata latebris
 Exiles suspensa uias agit; utque animanti
 Per tota errantes percurrunt corpora uenae
 Ad uitam sanguis omnis qua com meat eidem, 100
 Terra uoraginibus conceptas digerit auras.
 Scilicet taut olim diuiso corpore mundi
 In maria ac terras et sidera, sors data caelo
 Prima, secuta maris, deseditque infima tellus
 Sed tortis rimosa cauis; et qualis aceruus 105
 Exilit inparibus iactis ex tempore saxis,
 Vt crebro introrsus spatio uacuata tcharybdis
 Pendeat in sese, similis quoque terra figurae
 In tenuis laxata uias, non omnis in artum

91 istnnis S pro omnis 93 congregat S 96 Non totum
 et solido (solidum r) desunt namque omnis hiatu (hiatus r) CSr
 unde Itali scripserunt Non totum est solidum, deficit namque omnis
 hiatu et solidum est Iacob: et solido densum est Vollmer: ex
 solido est scripsi distat Baehrens: ducit... hiatum scripsi 98
 agit utque Ald. 1517: agiturque CS: agit inque v Arund. 99 dis-
 currunt Borm. Sed uide Lachmannum ad Lucr. vi. 324 100 cum
 meat C: cum meat S: comeat r Ad uitam sanguis qua com meat
 omnis alendam Peerlkamp idem codd.: eidem scripsi: isdem
 Clericus et Schmid ut cum sequente uersu iungeretur 102 aut
 CSr: haut v et sic Wernsdorf: hoc Borm.: fort. ante 105 toritis
 S sed ut prior i uix compareat aceruans Arund. 107 crebter C:
 crebro S: crebro v uulgo introrsus S uacuata Itali: uacat acta C:
 uacatacta S: caua facta Baehrens: uacefacta Buecheler charibdis C:
 h u
 carims S: carambos v: corymbos Sloan.: corymbis Clericus tamquam
 femininum, quod uocabulum nusquam extare credo: fort. corymbas
 et sic Gronouius Obseruat. ii. 6. Certe κόρυμβον dici ἔφοχην ὀρεινήν
 testatur Eustathius ad Dionys. Perieg. 566: mire congruunt cum hoc loco
 uerba Placidi Corineos aceruos quos rustici ex congerie lapidum faciunt
 108 similis scripsi: simili codd. figurae scripsi: figura Sloan.: futurae
 CSr: figura est Munro 109 omnes C

AETNA

up tightly or with compactness:—or it may be that its cause is only ancient, and this appearance is nothing congenital, but some air wandering at large makes its way in, and in escaping works itself a channel; or that some constant flow of water has eaten away the ground with mud and softens the opposing matter unobserved: or again hot steams pent close within have fused the solid crust, and fire has sought to make itself a path; or all these causes, it may be, have been in conflict each in its allotted place; nothing is here for lamenting our ignorance, provided only that whatever the cause, its operation remains unshaken. Is there a man who doubts that earth's depth contains hollows of void space, when he sees such large springs of water start into light, and when a torrent is found often to sink feebly in one chasm, [rise vigorously at another?] It is not in that torrent, be sure, to change from a puny stream into boisterous vigour; there must be pent up confluents that summon from every side their

AETNA

Nec stipata coit: siue illi causa uetusta est, 110
 Nec nata est facies, sed liber spiritus intrat
 Et fugiens molitur iter, seu nympha perennis
 Edit humum limo furtimque obstantia mollit;
 Aut etiam inclusi solidum uicere uapores,
 Atque igni quaesita uia est; siue omnia certis 115
 Pugnauere locis; non est hic causa dolendi,
 Dum stet opus causae. quis enim non credit inanis
 Esse sinus penitus, tantos emergere fontis
 Cum uidet ac torrens uno se mergere hiatu

 Non ille ex tenui uolens ueget: arcta necesse est 120
 Confluaia errantes arcessant undique uenas,

110 uetustas *Haupt* 111 Haec *Cv*: Hec st||ta nata est *S* repe-
 tito stipata ex 110, deinde ex parte deleta Nec *Arund.* An
 opponuntur inter se illi, Haec ut illi ad tellurem, Haec ad posterius
 cautam telluris faciem referatur? sed *codd.*: seu *ed. Rubei*
 1475 intra *C*: intrat *S* quod tuctur *Bormans* ex *Sen. N. Q.* vi.
 14. 3 uide ergo numquid intret in illam spiritus ex circumfuso aere,
 qui quamdiu habet exitum, sine iniuria labitur: si offendit aliquid
 et incidit quod uiam claudat, tunc oneratur primo infundente se a
 tergo aere; deinde per aliquam rimam maligne fugit et hoc acrius
 fertur quo angustius. *ib.* 15. 1 per haec interualla intrat spiritus
 112 Et fugiens *Bormans*: Effugiens *CSr* molitus *CS*: molitur
rv inter *C* nympha *CS*: lympa *rv* perenni *Cr*: per
 enni *S* 113 limo *CS*: lymum *v*: binum *r*: lima *Scaliger* molit
S: moli *r* 114 inclusis olidum *C* uidere *codd.*: uicere
Seuin Acad. des Inscriptions v. p. 226 (1729), *Wagler de Aetna*
poemate p. 52: fudere *Munro* 116 dolendi *codd.*: docendi
Ald. Munro: docenda *Lachmann ad Lucr.* vi. 755. Sed *cf.*
Ov. M. xi. 345 aliisque dolens fit causa dolendi 117 causas
Munro non *om.* *S* credit *CS*: non credit inanis *om.* *r* cum
Arund.: credat *Ald.* 118, 119 in unum conflati sic extant in *S*
 Esse sinus penitus tanto se mergere hiatu 119 hac torres *C*:
 ac torrens *Sr*: torrentem *Itali*: totiens *Haupt*: imo *v* *Haupt* hyatu *C*
Lacunam unius uersus signauit Munro, quem sequor. Is poterat esse
 huiusmodi Inualidus solet atque alio se erumpere fortem 120 correm:
 Nam (Non *r* *v*) ille (illo *r*) ex tenui uocemque agat apta necesse est
CSrv: Nam mille ex tenui uocuoque agitata n. e. *Munro*: Non ille ex
 tenui quocumque agat, apta n. e. *Sudhaus* 121 Cum fluuio *C*:
 Cum fluuia *S*: Confluaia *Sloan.*

AETNA

wandering ducts, that so the torrent may draw from a full source the supply of a vigorous stream. ~~stop~~ ✓ More-over rivers that flow swiftly in broad currents have found each their own place of sinking : either some chasm has hurried them headlong down and hidden them in the grave of its jaws, or else they flow in secret with close caverns above them, and issuing to light at a distance, renew their course unexpectedly. Indeed, were it not that the earth throws off canals here and there, and a water-track gives housing to the river, springs and streams would assuredly be without their required channel, and the sluggish earth would be packed close into a solid mass, and its motionless weight keep it from working. But if rivers there be which are buried in sheer abysses of earth, if there be others that after burial come to light again, certain others that spring to life with no such previous burial, it is not strange if pent up winds also have free vents that escape the eye. Earth will furnish you with successive vouchers of this by facts that are unmistakable, vouchers which cannot but arrest your eye. Often you may look out upon huge gaps in the ground and stretches of land cut off and fallen in ruin or plunged into dense night : it is a wide scene of chaos and debris without end. Again, see you how in forests wide-spaced lairs receding inwardly and again caverns have sunk into the soil their deep-dug coverts? The plan

AETNA

Vt trahat ex pleno quod fortem contrahat amnem.
 Flumina quinetiam latis currentia riuus
 Occasus habuere suos: aut illa uorago
 Derepta in praeceps fatali condidit ore, 125
 Aut occulta fluunt tectis adoperta cauernis,
 Atque inopinatos referunt procul edita cursus.
 Quod ni diuersos emittat terra canales,
 Hospitium fluuio det semita, nulla profecto
 Fontibus et riuus constet uia, pigraque tellus 130
 Conferta in solidum segni sub pondere cesset.
 Quod si praecipiti conduntur flumina terra,
 Condita si redeunt, si quaedam incondita surgunt,
 Haud mirum claussis etiam si libera uentis
 Spiramenta latent. Certis tibi pignera rebus 135
 Atque oculis haesura tuis dabit ordine tellus.
 Inmensos plerumque sinus et iugera pessus
 Intercepta licet densaeque abscondita nocti
 Prospectare: procul chaos ac sine fine ruinae.
 Cernis et in siluis spatiosa cubilia retro 140
 Antraque demissas penitus fodisse latebras?

122 Et CSv: Ex r: Vt Munro fortem C: fontem S conuehat
 Bormans: comparat Baehrens: fort. conrogat amne v 123
 ripis Bormans Haupt 125 Direptam CS: Dirrepta r: Direpta
 v: Derepta Clericus 126 adoperte auernis C 128 ni Iacob:
 si codd. 129 Ospit(c S)ium CS fluuio Baehrens: fluuium
 CS: fluminum rv det Baehrens sed praefixo et: aut CSv: uel r:
 Hosp. fluuiorum aut s. Itali, Munro: H. in fluidum Unger: fort.
 Hospitium fluuio iam et 131 conferta Arund.: conserta
 CSrv 132 terre Arund. 133 si qua (Si quâ C) etiam
 CSr: si quae etiam v: et iam Scaliger: si quaedam Munro: si
 quae clam condita serpunt Unger 134 classis CS: claussis
 Munro: fort. clussis 135 patent Clericus pignera CSv: pignora r
 137 passim Schrader et Suringar 138-285 Ad hos uu. tradita
 sunt excerpta quaedam amissi codicis quem Gyraldinum uocant (Gyr.)
 138 fort. Intersaepta licet Scaliger idemque in Gyr. traditur fuisse:
 leget CSrv densaque . . . nocte Gyr. 139 chaos et sine
 fine minas marg. uastum Gyr. unde Baehrens scripsit chaos uastum et
 sine fine ruinas ruinast Munro 140 spatique codd. omnes:
 spatiosa Ald. 1517, idque notum fuit Heinsio ad Claud. Rufin. ii. 527
 retro CSr Arund.: rectro v: spatioque cubilia tecto olim coniecti
 141 demissa pedibus (dimiss apedibus S: demissis p. rv) fodisse

AETNA

of such workings baffles discovery ; only we know that there is an efflux inside will provide you with indubitable proofs of the nature of the unknown deep. Do but let your mind guide you to the understanding of nice investigations, and abstract from the things you see your belief of the unseen. For in such proportion as fire is always more unrestrained, more furious, where the ground is shut in ; in such proportion as the winds show no less active fury under ground and far down, in such proportion must both needs work wider change, so much the more break their fastenings loose, so much the more throw aside what stands in their way. Yet the channels into which the violence of air or flame escapes are not wrought in stubborn matter with effort ; it rushes on only where what is nearest gives way, and cuts its channel slantwise where it finds the enclosing barrier most frail. Hence comes rocking and shakings of the earth, when the close-pressed air stirs the open pores and pushes the inert matter before it. But if earth were impermeable, if all its supporting frame were solid, it would nowhere allow its marvellous operations to be exhibited to the eye, but would be inert and, packed as it is into a close heavy mass, immovable.

AETNA

Incomperta uia est operum, tantum effluit intra

Argumenta dabunt ignoti uera profundi.

Tu modo subtiles animo duce percipe curas,
Occultamque fidem manifestis abstrahe rebus.

145

Nam quo liberior quoque est animosior ignis
Semper in inclusis, nec uentis segnior ira est
Sub terra penitusque, nouent hoc plura necesse est,
Vincla magis soluant, magis hoc obstantia pellant.

Nec tamen in rigidos exit contenta canales

150

Vis animae flammaeue: ruit qua proxima cedunt
Obliquumque secat qua uisa tenerrima cau/a est.

Hinc terrae tremor, hinc motus, ubi densus hiantis
Spiritus exagitat uenas cessantiaque urget.

Quod si spissa foret, solido si staret in omni,

155

Nulla daret miranda sui spectacula tellus,

Pigraque et in pondus conferta immobilis esset.

(fudisse r) latebris CSrv: demersas penitus fodisse latebras traditur ex Gyr. et sic uerba citauit Heinsius ad Claudian. in Ruf. ii. 527 'ex antiquis membranis.' Sed bene demissae dicuntur latebrae, quemadmodum ap. Verg. G. ii. 230 est alteque iubebis In solido puteum demitti demissis penitus sedisse latebris Wernsdorf quo recepto poterat sic scribi spatiante cubilia rostro Antraque d. p. s. l. 142 tantum CSv: tamen r et Arund.: aeri tantum effugit ultra traditur ex Gyr., unde Baehrens edidit aer tantum effugit ultra Post hunc u. lacunam indicauit Munro 145 abstrahe CSrv: astrue Itali 147 ininclusus C: in inclusis S: in incluso¹ Gyr. 148 mouent CS: mouet r: mouens ed. Par. 1507 et sic Gyr.: penitusque mouent hic plura, n. est Munro: nouent scripsi: ante conieceram dolent (dolare) 150 rigidos CSrv: riguos Heinsius: priuos Unger (riuos traditur ex Gyr.) h(a)esit r Arund. conteta r: fort. contacta: Nec tantum inriguos uexat contenta canales Bormans 151 flammaeue ruit Gyr.: flamma uerrit CS: flamma vrit (sic) Arund.: flamen uerrit Alsinger et Hildebrandt qua v: quam CSr 152 Obliquamque r qua CSr uersus sic traditur ex Gyr.: Obliquumque secant quae causa tenerrima caussa est quo nihil uidi mendosius causa codd.: caula Clericus: crusta Haupt: massa Munro: qua fissa tenerrima claustra Unger 153 hiatu C: hiatus r Arund.: iatus v: hiantes traditur ex Gyr.: malim hiantis 155 solidos instaret r Arund. inamni C: ²S legi uix poterat: inani rv: in omni Gyr.: fort. in aeuum 157 confert immobilis CS: conferta Scaliger, quod idem traditur ex Gyr.

¹ Sic Matthiae: editor Ienensis legit et inclusa.

² Sic uisum est mihi inā/mf.

AETNA

But you may think, perhaps, that this great action is a concession to causes at the surface, when the material that feeds the flame has received an accession of force at the point where you see before you powerful chasms and powerful depressions of soil. You are mistaken; the matter does not yet show itself to you in a clear sure light. For while all the onset of the winds is towards any open vacuum, their force is relaxed at the moment of entrance, and is changed by the wide access to the chasm, growing faint and abating in fury. For each time that some vacant space presents nothing to check the winds and stimulate them thus arrested, they grow idle; the vastness of the descending chasm spreads them out drifting aimlessly to and fro and they become inactive just at the point of issue. They must needs have narrow gullies in which to work their turmoil. Hotly the work proceeds: at one time the south wind is urging or urged on by a dense downfall of air from the east and north wind, at another both

AETNA

Sed summis si forte putas concedere causis
 Tantum opus *adsumptis* alimentum uiribus, ora
 Qua *ualida* in promptu cernis *ualidosque* recessus, 160
 Falleris et nondum tibi lumine certa *liquet* res.
 Namque illuc, quodcumque *uacans* hiat, impetus omnis,
 †Set sese introitu soluunt, adituque patenti
 Conuersae languent uires, animosque remittunt.
 Quippe ubi *quod* teneat uentos *acuatque* morantis 165
 In uacuo *desit*, cessant, tantumque profundi
 Explicat errantis, et in ipso limine tardant.
 Angustis opus est *turbare* in faucibus illos.
 Feruet opus *densa*que *premit* premiturque ruina
 Nunc *eurī* boreaeque *notus*, nunc huius uterque. 170

158 summis *codd.* : subitis *Gyr.* concredere *CS* : congerdere *v* :
 concredere *r* : concreescere *Gyr.* : concedere *scripsi* 159 adsumptis
scripsi : et summis *CSrv* : et subitis *Gyr.* : ex subitis alimenti incur-
 sibus *Unger ex Sen. N. Q. vi. 20* potest terram mouere impressio spiritus:
 fortasse enim aer extrinsecus alio intrante aere agitur. uilibus *v*
 ora *Gyr.* : oris *CSrv* 160 Qua *scripsi* : Quae *CSrv* : ualida
CSrv : patula *Gyr.* ualidosque *CSrv* : uastosque *Gyr. et sic*
Friesemann collato 335 : fort. uacua... uacuosque 161 *correxī*
 Fallere sed nondum tibi lumine certaue retro (recto *v*) *codd.* : Falleris
 et nondum certo tibi lumine res est *traditur ex Gyr. quod falsum esse*
mihi persuasi, quamuis contra pugnent Hildebrandt (Philol. lvi. (x.) 108)
et Sudhaus 162 quodcuque *S* uacans *scripsi* : uacat *CSr* :
 uocat (sic) *v* impetus *CS* quod ineptissime deprauarunt scribas
codicum saec. xv omis *S* Namque illis quaecumque uacant hiatibus
traditur ex Gyr., idque recepit Munro, addito in 163 Et *CSv* : set
scripsi : sésé *C* : sese *S* quod idem *traditur ex Gyr.* : rosae *r* : res *v*
 164 Conceptae *Gyr.* 165 quod teneat *Haupt* : contineat *Crv* :
 continuat *S* : qui teneat *traditur ex Gyr.* uentos acuatque *Munro ex eo*
quod Gyr. habuisse dicitur uentos aquasque : uentosa quaquaeque *C* :
 uentos aqua quaeque *S* : uentosa quaeque *r et Arund.* : uento qua
 quaeque *v* angatque *Unger* 166 *desit scripsi* : desinit *CSv* :
 desinit *r* : defit *Gyr.* 167 errantis *CSr* : erranteis *ex Gyr.*
traditur tardant *CSv* : tradant *r* : tradunt *Matthiae*, tradant
editor Ienensis testati sunt ex Gyr. : tardat *ed. Par. 1507* 168
 turbare in *rv* : turbant in *CS* : turbanti *traditur ex Gyr.* : turbent in
Haupt : turbari *Unger* : turbanti faucibus (illo Feruet opus) *Hildebrandt*
et Sudhaus : fort. turbante in f. illos *h. e. opus est eo quod turbam in*
illis faciat illos *CSrv* : illo *Gyr.* 169 sic *Gyr.* : densique premunt
 premiturque (premitque *rv*) ruina (-nas *r*) *CSrv* : An densis premitur-
 que premitque ruinis? 170 sic *Gyr. sed addito est post* uterque

Hinc furtim (furtum *C* : furti *Neap.*) boreaeque ncto (noto *S*) nunc

AETNA

these by the pressure of the south. This is the cause of the wind's fury, this is why it convulses with an appalling crack the foundations of the ground, thence it is not only that cities totter in affright, but that truer presage there is none, that the universe will resume, if we may believe it without impiety, the chaotic look it originally bore.

Such, in the first instance, being the character and nature of the earth, it draws off inwardly into channels in every direction, while the surface-soil itself remains inactive. Aetna is its own palpable, its own most credible voucher. Follow my lead and you shall not probe for occult reasons there: they will present themselves spontaneously to your mind and extort confession. For indeed that mountain lays its world of wonders bare to the eye: at one point are huge openings to appal the spirit and plunge it in an abyss: at another it calls to order at its inner part limbs elsewhere thrust out too far: at another point crowding rocks block the way, a wild scene of confusion: these cross their texture multifariously, or stop its progress half-way, now reduced by the action of fire, now constrained to bear successive fires still. Such is the world-famed appearance and domain of Aetna's divine activity: such its seat and free field of marvellous operations.

AETNA

Hinc uenti rabies, hinc saeuo quassat hiatu
Fundamenta soli: trepidant urbesque caducae
Inde, neque est aliud, si fas est credere, mundo
Venturam antiqui faciem ueracius omen.

Haec primo cum sit species naturaeque terrae, 175
Introrsus cessante solo trahit undique uenas.
Aetna sui manifesta fides et proxima uero est.
Non illic duce me occultas scrutabere causas,
Occurrent oculis ipsae cogentque fateri.
Plurima namque patent illi miracula monti. 180
Hinc uasti terrent aditus merguntque profundo,
Corrigit hinc artus penitus quos exigit ultra.
Hinc spissae rupes obstant discordiaque ingens.
Inter opus nectunt uarie mediumque coercent
Pars igni domitae, pars ignes ferre coactae. 185
[Haec operis uisenda sacri faciesque domusque] 185^b
Haec illi sedes tantarumque area rerum.

huius uterque est CSrv: est seruauit Hildebrandt p. 102, 'Jetzt ist Notus in der Gewalt des Eurus und Boreas, jetzt jeder dieser beiden letzten in der Gewalt des Notus.' 171-212 ex dimidia tantum parte, eaque

posteriore supersunt in S 171 quassat hiatu CSrv Munro: quassa meatu Wernsdorff, Maehly: boatu Unger: citatu ego Journ. of Philol. xkvi. p. 111 172 soli Gyr.: solo CSrv: soli, trepidant Munro 173 Mille nec e. a. s. f. e. c. mundum Venturum a. in f. u. o. Unger, quem ita secutus sum ut urbesque trepidant, neque est aliud inter se

respondere pulem 174 Venturam rv: Venturum C antiqui CSrv Gyr 175 primo Cvr: immo Gyr.: imo coni. Matthiae naturae Gyr. teste Matthiae 176 trahat Gyr. rimas Unger 178 illic r: illinc Cv: illi Gyr. 179 ipsae Rub. 1475: ipsi Cr Arund. 180 spiracula Baehrens 181 terebrant Unger uerguntque Unger 182 Corrigit Cvr: Porrigit Gyr. et ed. Vicentina 1479 hic Cvr: hinc Rub. 1475 artus Cvr: fort. arcus penitus quos exigit CS: penitusque (que quod v) exigit rv: penitusque exaestuatur ultra Gyr.: penitusque os erigit ultra Munro 183 scissae Gyr. 184 uaries C: uarios rv Arund. S legi non poterat: aliae traditur ex Gyr.: uarie scripsi An uires? coercent C 185 par signes ferre S post 185 Cvr¹ habent Vt (Et v) maior species aetne succurrat inanis, qui uersus iterum scriptus est post 193. In priore loco eum retinuit Altinger sed ut scriberet succrescat in ignes 185^b ex solo Gyr. traditur sed post 187 operi Gyr.: modusque Unger 186 sic Gyr. quomodo scriptus est uersus in Neap. et ed. Rub. 1475 nisi quod illis habent ambo: Haec illis tantarum sedesque arcarum est

^a In S supersunt haec ies a&hne succurrat inanis

AETNA

At this point my plan calls on me to explain the artificer and cause of the fire, a cause of no little or slight significance: it is overwhelming, and will lay before you a thousand truths in a moment of time. Facts and eyes are our teachers, facts force belief unassisted. Moreover I would suggest to you to handle and touch, if it might safely be done; but the flames forbid, and there is a fire to keep guard upon Aetna's working which shuts off all approach, since the divine providence which governs creation will have no witness of its action, so to heighten the show, and not relieve the mountain ineffectually. All will be the same, but you are to see it from a distance: none the less it is no matter for doubt what it is that makes Aetna writhe within, or who is the wondrous workman that directs a craft so mighty.

A cloud of ignited sand is driven out in a whirl: burning masses hurry up, the substructions are rolled from the bottom: at one moment a crash bursts from every part of Aetna, at another wan flames

AETNA

Nunc opus artificem incendi causamque reposcit,
 Non illam parui aut tenuis discriminis: *ingens*
 Mille sub exiguo ponet tibi tempore uera.
 Res oculique docent: res ipsae credere cogunt. 190
 Quin etiam tactu moneam contingere, tuto
 Si liceat: prohibent flammae, custodiaque ignis
 Illi operum est arcens aditus, diuinaque rerum
 Vt maior species et ne succurrat inanis
 Cura sine arbitrio est. eadem procul omnia cernes, 195
 Nec tamen est dubium, penitus quid torqueat Aetnam,
 Aut quis mirandus tantae faber imperet arti.
 Pellitur exustae glomeranter nimbus harenae,
 Flagrantes properant moles, uoluuntur ab imo
 Fundamenta: fragor tota nunc rumpitur Aetna, 200
 Nunc fusca pallent incendia mixta ruina.

C: in S supersunt tantum haec -rum sedesque arcarum est: Haec illis
 tantarum sedesque area rerum est *v: Haec igni Matthiae: haec*
iris Unger 187 iterum scriptus est in v post 193 in-
incendi C: incendia Sv: incendii Gyr. 188 ingens scripsi:
ignes codd. nisi quod ex Gyr. traditur Non illam paruo aut tenui
 discrimine signis, *quod seruauit Haupt signis in signes mutato*
 189 ponet tibi *scripsi:* ponent ibi *S: ponentibus C: ponent tibi r:*
 ponam tibi *v tempora uera C et S nisi quod nera potius uideri*
poterat: sub exiguum uenient tibi pignora tempus traditur ex
Gyr., quod falsum esse mihi persuasi: ignes Mille sub exiguo
 ponent tibi tempore ueram *Munro 190 oculos ducunt Gyr.*
 cogunt *CS: cogent Gyr. 191 moneam Gyr. et sic ex coni. Heinsius:*
 moneant *v Arund.: moueant r: moneat CS tuto Scaliger idem-*
que ex Gyr. traditur: toto codd. 193 operum Cv: opertum
r Arund.: operi Gyr. arcens Haupt: arcent CSrv adhitus S:
 dictis *r: num adytis? Post 193 v habet (Va Nunc opus artificem*
 incendia causasque reposcit cat) *h. e. uacat, cf. ad 187. Hinc uidetur*
omissi uersus unius spatium fuisse in eo codice unde v fluxit: is
poterat esse 185^b 194 cf. ad 185: etne C: aethne S: ethnae r: ut
ne v: et ne scripsi an succumbat in annis? 195 sin v: sine
 arbitrio est eadem: procul *r cernes CS: cernis rv 196*
 quid *Gyr.: quin CSrv: quis Scaliger torqueat CSrv: torreat*
Gyr. aethna Cr: hetna v: -na tantum in S dispexi: Aetnam
Scaliger 197 imperet ed. Par. 1507: imperat Cr S legi non
poterat 198 exustae ed. Par. 1507: exutae Crv: exhaustae
Gyr. glomeratur Cv: glomerantur Sr: glomeratim traditur
ex Gyr.: glomeratus Itali: glomeranter uel glomerator scripserim
 nymbus *S 199 Flagent' (! Flagenter) v uoluntur C: uol-*
 uuntur *S 201 incendia CS: incendi r*

AETNA

mingle with black falling debris. Jupiter himself looks wonderingly from afar at those mighty fires, and trembles silently in his secret place that a new race of Giants may rise to wage again the war that was buried in their graves : or that Ditis¹ may grow ashamed of the realm he rules and shift his hell to heaven : but meanwhile the whole ground outside is strewn with a crowd of rocks and loose sand : not that they do this by any will of their own ; no firmness of structure is strong enough to hold them in their place when thus ejected ; no, it is the winds that set in action all their powers of turmoil, driving and whirling in a close mass the rocks with the fury of their gust, and rolling them up from the abyss. This (the internal action of the winds) is the reason why the rush of fire in the mountain can never be a surprise. The winds when inflated are called *spirit*, when in subsidence, *air*. For left to itself the violence of the flame is almost powerless : fire indeed has a natural velocity and continual motion, but then it needs some auxiliar to drive bodies out : it has no moving force in itself ; only where *spirit* bids it

¹ Cf. 642.

AETNA

Ipse procul magnos miratur Iuppiter ignes,
 Neue sepulta noui surgant in bella Gigantes,
 Neu Ditem regni pudeat, neu Tartara caelo
 Vertat, in occulto tacitus tremit: omnia at extra 205
 Congeries operit saxorum et putris harena.
 Quae nec sponte sua faciunt, nec corporis ullis
 Sustentata cadunt robusti uiribus: omnes
 Exagitant uenti turbas ac uortice saeuo
 In densum conlecta rotant, uoluuntque profundo. 210
 Hac causa expectata ruunt incendia montis.
 Spiritus inflatis nomen, languentibus aer.
 Nam prope nequiquam per sest uiolentia: semper
 Ingenium uelox igni motusque perennis;
 Verum opus auxilium est ut pellat corpora: nullus 215
 Impetus est ipsi; qua spiritus imperat, audit;

202 tantos traditur ex Gyr. miratus Schenkl 205 Vertat
 Ar.: Vertant C: Vertit r tacitus tremit Baehrens: tantum premit
 Crv et sic uidetur fuisse in S: tremit traditur ex Gyr.: clam tum tremit
 Wagler: iam tum tremit Schenkl: totus tremit Alvinger: fremit
 Damsté Mnemos. xvii. 197 at extra scripsi: omniaque extra traditur
 ex Gyr., ualde dubito an uere: omnia dextra Crv S legi non poterat
 206 operit Ald. 1517: operis codd. xasorum S: num saxorum?
 arenae Gyr.: harenae uisus sum legere in S 207. Quem r
 faciunt CSv, sed S super lineam: fatiunt r: ueniunt traditur ex Gyr.:
 saliant Wernsdorf: fugiunt Struchtmeyer ullis Ald. 1517: ulli CSr
 Ar. quod retinuit Buecheler tamquam genituum 208 subiectata uel
 subuectata Postgate robustis codd. etiam S: robusti Wernsdorf
 209 Exigitur Crv: Exagitant traditur ex Gyr.: fort. Exacuunt uel Ecce
 cient auertice C: ac u. Gyr. uersus in uno C integer seruatus est:
 mire foedatus in ceteris 210 coniecta C r Ar.: coniecta v: congesta
 Sloan.: conlecta traditur ex Gyr. 211 Hac r Ar.: Haec Cv:
 Haec causae expectanda ferunt incendia traditur ex Gyr., in S super-
 sunt tata . . . di . . . exspatiata Kooten montis r v Ar.: mortis
 C: fortasse uere h. e. letifera Haec causae spectanda ferunt i. montis
 Sudhaus et sic Birt sed creant 212 sic Crv, et idem fuisse in S
 testantur reliquiae nome tibus aer. uersum immerito suspectum
 ac uarie mutatum tuitus sum J. of Philology xvi. 301 allegato
 Seneca qui idem discrimen spiritus atque aeris fecit in N. Q. ii. 1. 3,
 vi. 21. Nunc eum reduxit Sudhaus 213 abscissus in S per
 sest Wagler: par est Crv: pars est Gyr.: uiolentia Gyr.: uolentia
 C: uoluentia rv semper Crv: flammae traditur ex Gyr. idque
 recepit Munro 214 igni Clericus: illi codd. 215 corpora
 Gyr. et sic coni. Scaliger: corpore CSr 216 idsi S audit CSrv:

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follows obediently. Spirit leads the way : spirit is the great general in whose service fire is enlisted.

Since the character of Aetna's action and the nature of the ground is now discernible, I shall next proceed to inquire what is the source of the winds themselves, what the substance that feeds the fire, what, when a sudden check falls on them, is the inward cause of their lethargy ; vast as is the toil, it is full of result notwithstanding : the reward is adequate and compensates the labourer's pains.

To gaze on nature's wonders, not like brute beasts with the eye alone ; not to lie sprawling on the earth feeding a brutish bulk of limbs ; to learn how things are certificated, and search into their doubtful causes ; to deify genius and lift our head to the sky ; to know what and how many are the elements whence the great universe had birth ; do they fear extinction or go on for all time, and is the framework fastened securely with an everlasting chain : to know the measure of the sun's course, and the degree by which the moon's orbit is less, so that she has

AETNA

Hic princeps, magnoque sub hoc duce militat ignis.

Nunc, quoniam in promptu est operis natura solique,

Vnde ipsi uenti, quae res incendia pascit,

Cum subito cohibentur, inest quae causa silenti, 220

Subsequar. inmensus labor est, sed fertilis idem.

Digna laborantis respondent praemia curis.

Non oculis solum pecudum miranda tueri

More, nec effusos in humum graue pascere corpus, *certainly perpa-*

Nosse fidem rerum dubiasque exquirere causas, *attitude the*

Ingenium sacrare caputque attollere caelo, *perhaps note*

Scire quot et quae sint magno natalia mundo

Principia, occasus metuunt an saecula pergunt, *h^{ic} r^u*

Et firma aeterno religata est machina uinclo; *cf Milton's garden c*

Solis scire modum et quanto minor orbita lunaest; 230

audet Gyr. 217 Hic Schrader: Hinc CS Gyr.: Nunc *ru* magno-

que Munro: magnosque CS: magnusque *ru*: magnusque qui sub

duce traditur ex Gyr.: magnus quo sub duce Baehrens: Hic princeps

magnusque, Haupt: fortasse gnauosque 218-220 attulit Heinsius

ad Claudiani R. P. i. 171 castigatos tamquam ex uteri codice 219

Vnde traditur ex Gyr. et sic Heinsius: Vna Cru S legi non poterat

220 cohibetur Matthiae: cohibetur CSrv: cohibent traditur ex Gyr.

et sic Heinsius inest CSrv: iners traditur ex Gyr.: uires Heinsius

silendi Heinsius 221 inmensus] ab hoc incipiunt excerpta Escoria-

lensia (Q. i. 14) quibus praemisum est Quam iocundum sit scire non

cupiditati operam dare 222 Digna codd. et Esc.: Pigra Gyr. labo-

rantis CS Esc.: laboranti v: laboratis ex Gyr. traditur, sed nec Pigra

nec laboratis uerum credo uiris pro curis v 223-224 in Esc. post

249 scripti sunt 223 pecudum C tueri Gyr.: fuere CSr: fuerē

v: uidere Esc. 224 effusos Wernsdorf: effusis CSrv Esc. 225-226

absunt ab Esc. ita tamen ut et rerum dubias exquirere causas post primum

uocabulum u. 228 Principia subnexus sit 225 rerum Esc. (228) et

Gyr. rebus CSr exposcere r 226 Sacra peringentem (ingentem v)

capitque attollere (attollere v) caelum CSrv: Sacra p ri rigentem Cor-

sinianus 43 F. 3. 21 Ingenium sacrare caputque a. caelo traditur ex

Gyr. quod plerique receperunt Sacra perurgentem ed. Par. 1507: Sacra

peragrantem Peerlkamp. An Sacra per ingenii caelestia tollere captum?

F. Walter uersum ratus est excidisse, uelut Sacra per ingentem [mundi

labentia tractum Sidera cuncta notare] caputque a. caelo 227 quot

SEsc.: quod Cr sunt S natalia CS Esc.: fatalia traditur ex Gyr.: in

magno talia r: cur m. talia v 228, 229 non extant in v 228 meciunt

Arund. an Clericus: ad CSr post Principia Esc. habent et rerum

dubias exquirere causas dein Solis scire modum, &c. omissis occasus...

uinclo 229 uinclo C Gyr. Ald. 1517: mundo Sr 230 et CSrv Esc.:
ut Munro luna est C: luna est Sv: lunę est r: lune Esc.: lunaest Munro

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a shorter course and flies through a circle twelve times repeated, while the sun passes through his circuit in a year; what stars run in a fixed order, which wander from their appointed round with no set plan; further, to know the alternations of the zodiacal signs and the laws delivered to them; how six are withdrawn (set) during the course of night, six are brought back (rise) when day returns; why the moon gives its notice of clouds to the sky, of rains to the earth; what account is to be given of Phoebe's red, the sun's pale, fire; why the year's seasons shift; why its prime of youth, the spring, dies when summer sets in, why summer in its turn grows old, why winter steals upon autumn, and rolls round the cycle again; to understand Helice's axle, discern the warning of the comet; from what side Lucifer shines, in what quarter Hesperus, whence Bootes; what means Saturn's obstructive, Mars' warring star; under what constellation the mariner should furl or spread his sail; to know the tracks of the sea, learn in advance the stars' courses in the sky; whither is Orion hurrying, over what region is Sirius bending wistfully to give

AETNA

Haec breuior cursu *ut* bis senos peruolet orbes,
 Annuus ille meet : quae certo sidera currant *Aratus again*
 Ordine, quaeue suo derrent incondita guro :
 Scire uices etiam signorum *et* tradita iura ;
 [Sex cum nocte rapi, totidem cum luce referri:] 234^b
 Nubila cur +caelo, terris denuntiet imbres, 235
 Quo rubeat Phoebe, quo frater palleat igni :
 Tempora cur uariant anni, *uer* prima iuuenta
 Cur aestate perit, cur aestas ipsa senescit,
 Autumnoque obrepat hiemps, et in orbe recurrit :
 Axem scire Helices et tristem nosse cometen, 240
 Lucifer unde micet, quaeue Hesperus, unde Bootes,
 Saturni quae stella tenax, quae Martia pugnax,
 Quo rapiant nautae, quo sidere lintea tendant ;
 Scire uias maris et caeli praediscere cursus ;
 Quo uolet Orion, quo *Sirius* incubet index, 245

231 cursu bisseños CS : cur sub isse *r Ar.* : cur bisseños cito *Esc.* et
sic Scaliger Clericus Wernsdorf Haupt nisi quod hi tres cita maluerunt :
 cur sic *Baehrens* : cur breuior cursu b. p. o. *Alainger* : ut addidi.
Verum tamen potest esse quod ex r colligitur Haec b. cursu bis sex ut p.
 orbes 232 Annuus C : Annus *r* meet *Esc.* : monet *SCv* : mouet *r*
q' Esc. h. c. quod sydera *Esc.* : sidere CS 233 Post Ordine cetera
omissa in Esc. quae uesuo *S* sed ut post o possit erasa uideri / scripta
minutissime derrent *scripti*, cf. *Lachm. ad Lucr. l. 43 :* errant *CSr* :
 erant *v* : curuent *Unger* : uariant *Alainger* : fort. uarent guro *scripti* :
gyris Haupt : cura *CSr* : tura *v* suos seruent i. motus *traditur ex*
Gyr. : suos errent i. cursus *Munro* 234 et om. *CSrv Esc.* : additum
iam in ed. Rub. 1475 234^b ex uno *Gyr.* *traditur* 235 sic
Crv Esc. nisi quod in *v* est terre¹ Pro caelo terris *traditur ex*
Gyr. Panope caelo, unde *Matthiae* Phatne scribebat, Phaeo *Unger.*
Phaeo una Hyadum 236 cubeat *Esc.* pelleat *S* 237
 uariant *CS Gyr.* : uariant *rv Esc.* uer prima iuuenta *Gyr.* : primaque
 iuuenta *Crv Esc.* : primaque iuuenta *legere mihi sum uisus in S :* fort.
 uer prima iuuentae 238 Cura . . . cura C : cur . . . cur *rv :* Ver
 . . . cur *Esc.* senescat *r* 239 hiems C *Esc.* : hiemps *S* 240
 cometen *Esc.* 241 boetes *Esc.* 242 Saturnique stella *Esc.*
 mastia C 243 tendant *SCrv Esc.* : pandant *Gyr.* 244
 uices *Matthiae* praediscere *rv Esc. Munro* 245
 Qua uocet *traditur ex Gyr.* : Quo uoltu *Haupt* *Sirius Ald. 1517 :*
 Setius CS : Serus *r* : Secius *v* uocabulum om. *Esc.* spatio relicto
 excubet *traditur ex Gyr.*

¹ In *S* dixi Nub . . . elo . . . denunti& imbres.

AETNA

sign; in a word, wherever this mighty universe spreads its marvels before us, not to let them lie dispersedly nor yet buried in a mass of things, but to arrange each severally in its assigned place distinct with its own sign; this is an ineffable, a delightful pleasure to the soul.

Yet this is man's earlier task, to know the nature of the earth, and note the many marvels which nature has brought to light therein: this is for us a noble task, one that borders on the stars of heaven. For what further height of madness, O race of mortals, can transcend this—that a man should be fain to wander and explore in Jove's realm, yet neglect the vast work before his feet and indolently lose it from his ken? Woefully we vex ourselves over trifles and are pressed to earth with toil; we pry into crannies, turn up every deep bottom; some vein of silver ore is in quest, now a duct of gold; earth is tortured with flame,

AETNA

Et quaecumque iacent tanto miracula mundo
 Non disiecta pati, nec aceruo condita rerum,
 Sed manifesta notis certa disponere sede
 Singula, diuina est animi ac iucunda uoluptas. *cf Arist Eth. X*
 Sed prior haec hominis cura est, cognoscere terram, *X*₂₅₀
 Et quae tot miranda tulit natura notare.
 Haec nobis magna, adfinis caelestibus astris.
 Nam quae, mortales, *super* est amentia maior,
 In Iouis errantem regno perquirere uelle,
 Tantum opus ante pedes transire ac perdere segnem? *255*
 Torquemur miseri in paruis premimurque labore,
 Scrutamur rimas et uertimus omne profundum,
 Quaeritur argenti semen, nunc aurea uena.
 Torquentur flamma terrae ferroque domantur,

246 quocumque *Esc.* iacent *SCrv Esc.* : latent *excerpta Pithoeana*,
Baehrens : patent *Wassenberg et Suringar* *247* congesta *traditur*
ex Gyr. : digesta *SCrv Esc.* quod *ex* disiecta¹ *potius corruptum*
arbitror *248* cerata *C* *249* iocunda *S Esc.* uoluntas
Esc. *Post 249 Esc. habent 223, 4* Non oculis . . . More nec effusis;
dein omissis 250-5 incipit alterum excerptum Torquemur miseri *etc.*
cui praefixum est Conquestio quod maiorem demus operam augende
 pecunie quam scientie *250* hominis *r* : dominis *C* : hominum *v* :
 omni *traditur ex Gyr.* *251 om. r Ar.* : Quaeque in ea *Gyr.* : Et
 quae nunc *C* : Et quae tot *excerpta Pithoeana*. Num Et, quae non
 miranda tulit natura? notare *h. e. et notare infinitam seriem mira-*
culorum quae in natura insunt *252* magis affinis *Gyr. et excerpta*
Pithoeana *253* mortalis *SCrv* : mortales *Scaliger, tamquam*

s. est
uocalium spes. quaeue a. m. *C* : spes est : que amâtia maius
r : species que ue amantia maius *v* : mortali cuiquam est *traditur*
ex Gyr. : mortali superest *scripsi* : Nam quae mortali spes quaeue

a. m. *Haupt et sic Munro sed* mortalis *254* Inuis *C* perquirere
S : perquire *Cr* uelle *SCr* diuos *traditur ex Gyr.* *255* ac
SC Gyr. : et *ru* segnem *Jacob* : segne est *traditur ex Gyr.* In *S*
uocabulum legere non potui. segnes *Crv* *256* sic *CSr Esc.*
 Torquemus *S nisi fallor* in primis *Esc.* terimurque *Gyr.* *257-9*
codices habent post 277 Non subito callere sono, non credere
 subter. *Huc renocati sunt iubente Scaligero et, ut traditur, Gyr.*
256-62 hoc ordine se excipiunt in Esc. Torquemur . . . Et sese . . .
 Turpe silent artes uiles i. r. . . Torquentur flamma . . . Scrutamur . . .
 Semen ut argenti queratur et aurea uena (*sic*) . . . Noctes atque dies
 festinant arua coloni *257* euerrimus *Schrader et sic excerpta*
Pithoeana

¹ *Idem placuit Alzinger Neue Jahrb. 1896, p. 856.*

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mastered with iron tools, till she buy herself off with a price paid down, and after declaring her true secret is then at last reduced to silence and left to contempt and poverty. Whole nights and days the farmer presses on the tillage of his fields, hands harden with country work, we weigh with care how each soil is to be used: this is fertile and fitter for bearing corn, another for vines: this earth is best suited to the plane-tree, this to grass-crops: this other is hard and better for feeding cattle, a steady friend of forest-trees: the drier grounds are the home of olives, elms love a juicier soil. Trivial are the causes that torture men's minds and bodies—to make their barns overflow, to see their wine-casks distended with must, their hay-racks filled to the top with the mowings of the field. Thus ever ye advance on your path of greed where something more precious comes in view.

AETNA.

Dum sese pretio redimant, uerumque professae 260
 Tum demum uiles taceant inopesque relictæ.
 Noctes atque dies festinant arua coloni ;
 Callent rure manus, glebarum expendimus usum.
 Fertilis haec segetique feracior, altera uiti.
 Haec platanis humus, haec herbis dignissima tellus, 265
 Haec dura et melior pecori siluæque fidelis.
 Aridiora tenent oleae, sucosior ulmis
 Grata : leues cruciant animos et corpora causae,
 Horrea uti saturent, tumeant et dolia musto,
 Plenaque desecto surgant faenilia campo. 270
 Sic audi semper, qua uisum est carius, iſis.

260 sésé C redmant rerumque professe Esc. : professa est r :
 aurumque Maehly : lucrumque Baehrens : fort. quaestumque uu.
 261-300 excisso 301, et 302-44 excisso 345, extant in S, sed ut in 302-44
 tantum pars uersuum, eaque prior supersit 261 taceant CSrv :
 iaceant Matthiae et sic excerpta Pithoeana Turpe silent artes uiles i. r.
 Esc. : Tum demum humilesque iacent ex Gyr. traditur contra metrum :
 uilesque iacent Maehly 262 festinant CS : festinant Esc. 263 rura S
 expellimur usu CSr Esc. : expellimus usu v : expendimus usum Gyr. cf.
 Gratt. Cyn. 122 : expenditur usus Wernsdorf : excellimus usu F. Walter

264 segetique CSv Esc. : segeteque r : segeti feracior traditur ex Gyr. :
 segetisque ed. Gryphii 1547 Munro feracior S Esc. uiti Crv Esc.
 Gyr. : uitis ed. Gryph. Munro 265 platanis codd. : plantis traditur ex
 Gyr. ditissima excerpta Pithoeana, Wassenberg tellis C 266
 dura et Esc. : duro Gyr.¹ : diuiti CS : diuti r : diuti (sic) Arund. : dura
 utilior Matthiae sillisque S 267 ulmus CSr : ulmis v Esc. 268
 crutiant S Esc. sause Esc. num curae ? curae excerpta Pitho-
 eana 269 tumeant CS Esc. : tundant r : tundeant Arund. : fort.
 tendant et CSr Esc. : ut excerpta Pithoeana : ex Gyr. traditur
 Horreaque ut sature tumeant ut dolia musto dolea CS Munro :
 dolia r Esc. uu. 270-85 in codice Laurentiano 33. 9 chartaceo saec.
 xv continentur, qui ut clarius exhibeantur, sic ut a bibliothecario Vaticano
 F. Ehrlé S.I. me rogante descripti sunt, in commentario imprimendos
 curavi, cum ad quaestionem quae est de Gyraldino codice grauissima non
 parui momenti esse uideantur. 270 fenilia C : fenialia S : fenilia
 Esc. Hic desinunt Esc. : reuilia r Arund. num eruilia ? 271 Sic audi
 semper qua uisum est carius (-ior r) istis CSr Munro : S. a. s. quouis
 est carior ipsis traditur ex Gyr., et sic L(aurentianus 33. 9) nisi quod
 illis ipsis habet. audis Matthiae itis scripsi sc. mortales : quod
 uisum est carius, istis Implemus se quisque bonis Haupt : Sic audis
 semper quaeuis res carior ipsis Baehrens : Sic audis s. quiduis est

¹ duro fuisse in Gyr. testatus est editor Ienensis. Matthiae diserte non tradidit
 quid in Gyr. inuenerit ; tantum dicit lectionem dura et illinc confirmatam uideri.

AETNA

Each of us should do his part to steep himself in crafts that are noble : *they* are the true grain of the mind, these the highest reward the world can bring us : to know what Nature keeps close within earth's deep heart ; never to belie any of her workings, not to gaze in dumb amazement on the divine uproar and furious rages of Aetna's mountain ; not to grow pale with affright at its sudden din, not to believe that the wrath of heaven has found a new home underground, or that hell is bursting its confine : to understand what sets a check on the winds, what gives them aliment ; whence comes their sudden calm and strongly covenanted truce : why their rages gather new force, whether it happen that caverns in their depths or the actual inlets store them securely, or, again, earth, made porous by tiny apertures, absorbs into itself draughts of snowy air ; and this the more largely, because Aetna rises with a stark peak, exposed on either side to angry winds, and, itself single, admits perforce gales from

AETNA

Implendus sibi quisque bonis est artibus : illae
 Sunt animi fruges, hae rerum maxima merces :
 Scire quid occulto terrae Natura coerces,
 Nullum fallere opus, non multos cernere sacros 275
 Aetnaei montis fremitus animosque furentis,
 Non subito pallere sono, non credere subter
 Caelestis migrasse minas aut Tartara rumpi :
 Nosse quid impediatur uentos, quid nutriet tillos,
 Vnde repente quies et multo foedere pax sit : 280
 Cur crescant animi, penitus seu forte cauernae
 Introitusque ipsi seruent, seu terra minutis
 Rara foraminibus nuius in sese abstrahat auras :
 Plenius hoc etiam, rigido quia uertice surgit
 Illinc infestis atque hinc obnoxia uentis, 285
 Vnaque diuersas admittere cogitur auras,

carius ipsi Wagler eademque Alsinger sed istis 272 astibus C
 illae L et sic traditur ex Gyr. : illis CSrv : fort. illi uel illic 273 hae
 CS : haec r Ald. 1517, idemque traditur ex Gyr. est optima L
 Gyr. 274 occulto rvL¹ : exulto CS : occultum excerpta Pithoeana
 natura terra CS : nature terra v : terrae natura L et sic traditur ex
 Gyr. : fort. natura et terra coerces C 275 multos CS : multo
 Arund. : muto r fortasse recte : multum vL idemque traditur ex Gyr. :
 mutum Haupt : mutos Scaliger et Munro : motum uel motos Postgate
 276 animumque v 277 callere CSrv : pallere L Gyr. ed. Rub. 1475
 Post hunc u. secuntur in CSrv 257-9, non item in L 278 Celesti

migrase r rumpi L Gyr. : mundi CSrv : fort. fundi : ad T. mundi ed.
 Rub. 1475 279 intendat L et sic traditur ex Gyr. : impellat Haupt :
 incendat Postgate illos C, om. S : ignes rL : iras Postgate 280
 repente CSr : reperta L Gyr. multo CSrL, non item Gyr. : inulto
 'une paix faite par un traité sans garant, dont l'infraction ne sera pas
 vengée' uel muto Oudin, Journ. des Savans 1715 T. lvii. p. 597 sqq.
 pax est L et Gyr. 281 Concrecant CSr Arund. L, non item Gyr. Id
 retinuit Munro, relicto post 281 uersus unius spatio : Cur crescant
 Scaliger et sic excerpta Pithoeana anime L et Gyr. porta pro forte L et
 Gyr. 282 feruent S 283 niuis in sese scripsi : neue in se CS :
 neue iusse r : ne ut in se v : ne ue iusse Arund. : tenues L et Gyr.
 284 quia CS : qua rv Arund. surgens L et Gyr. : surgit CSr quod
 retinui, scripto Vnaque in 286, cf. ad 290 285 infestis Iacob :
 infestus CSrv : infessa est L Gyr. uentis L et Gyr. : uitis CSr
 Ar. intus v Hic desinunt et quae ex Gyr. tradita sunt et quae habet L
 286 Vnaque scripsi : Vndique codd. aduersas r admittat S
 cogitur Schrader et Munro : cogitat CSrv Ar.

¹ 'Posset etiam legi occulte sed uerius occulto.' Ehrle.

AETNA

every quarter, which then form a league and gain new strength by union; or whether again they are driven inwards by clouds and the south wind that brings clouds, or waxing bold have rounded the head of Aetna and sweep on behind; then the water hurrying noisily downwards presses upon the torpid airs and drives them off, and by its blows condenses the particles that compose them. For just as an hydraulic vessel gives a sound by setting in motion a musical Triton: first the machinery is pushed by the body of water collected and the air which cannot resist the force that moves it, next the trumpet bellows forth its long-drawn tones; or as in some spacious theatre an hydraulic organ with the diverse modes of its unequal tubes sounds its watery music, by help of the controller's skill, which sets in motion a thin stream of air and makes a rowing movement in the water below: just so it is that the wind dislodged by the streaming fluids and angered thereby, struggles in its straitened room, producing a loud roaring from Aetna.

Again we must suppose that there are causes of wind springing up underground like those we see outside: that so, each time the particles press closely and jostle each other, they may be squeezed out and make for a free open space to avoid crowding, and so rive by their heaving force and drag with them what is nearest, and only stop when they have found a safe place to rest in.

AETNA

Et coniuratis addit concordia uires :
 Siue introrsus agunt nubes et nubilus auster,
 Seu fortes flexere caput tergoque feruntur.
 Praecipiti defecta sono premit unda fugatque 290
 Torpentes auras, pulsataque corpora denset.
 Nam ueluti sonat *urna ciens* Tritona canorum,
 Pellit opus collectus aquae uictusque moueri
 Spiritus et longas emugit bucina uoces :
 Carmineque irriguo magnis cortina theatri 295
 Imparibus numerosa modis canit arte regentis,
 Quae tenuem impellens animam subremigat unda :
 Haud aliter summoti furens torrentibus aura
 Pugnat in angusto et magnum commurmurat Aetna.
 ^ Credendum est etiam uentorum existere causas 300
 Sub terra similis harum quas cernimus extra ;
 Vt, cum densa premant inter se corpora, turbam
 Elisa in uacuum fugiant et proxima secum
 Momine torta trahant tutaque in sede resistant.

288 introssus S 289 fortes *scripsi* : forte CSr : forte inflexere
Iacob : forte hi *Munro* : forte erexere *Baehrens* Seu *Boreae Birt*
 retroque *Friesemann* 290 delecta CSr quod *tuitus est Lindenbruch*
 unda *Scaliger et sic excerpta Pithoeana* : una *codd.* : uda *Sudhaus* : ima
Birt 291 *Torpentes de Rooy* : *Torrentes codd.* pulsata *Som.* que
 292 *sic correxi ex v* sonat ora duc tritone cancro C : sonat ora (ore
Arund.) diu tritona canoro r *Arund.* : sonatura dius (s *incerta*) tritona
 canoro v uerba post sonat om. S : sonat hora duci *Munro fortasse*
 recte : s. hora deo *Maehly* : sonat hora die *Haupt* : s. hora diu Tritone
 canoro *Sudhaus* 293 opes CSr : opus *Helmst. m. pr.* aqua
Alsinger mouere CSr : moueri *Sauppe, quod uerum habeo* 295
 magnisque S : magni c. theatri v 296 arte r : arta C : asta *uisus*
sum legere in S regentis cf. *Carm. Epigraph. ed. Buecheler* 489. 7
 Spectata in populo hydraulica grata regebat 297 Qui *Baehrens*
 impellens S unda CSr : undam v 298 aliter om. S correntibus r
 299 augusto S *Arund.* 300 causam *Cru Arund.* : causas ed.
Rub. 1475 301 *abscissus in S* terras C 302-44 in fine
abscissi in S 302 condensa v cremant CSr : crepant *Schrader* :
 premunt *Gronovius* : premant *Baehrens* intersé C turbant C : turba
 r : ~~dura~~ turba *Arund.* : turbam *scripsi* 304 Momine *Gronovius* :
 Nomina *codd.* torta *Iacob* : tota *codd.* trahant . . . resistant
Clericus : trahunt . . . resistunt *codd.* : sed trahant est in *Arund.* :
 tuta dum s. resistunt *Haupt*

AETNA

But if, as may chance, you raise a quarrel with me, believing the winds to rise from other causes, I reply: there is no doubt that rocks sometimes and caverns deep below tumble forwards with a loud crash, and that the fall causes the currents of air in the neighbourhood to be set in motion and disperse in all directions, and from this cause the winds wax strong; or again that there are vapours which discharge (air) from the abundance of their moisture, as they often do in plains and fields bathed by a river. Air rises in vallies and forms a dark cloud-like mass; little water-courses bring with them gusts whose force is very like wind; water from a distance blows its jets upon the air-currents and flogs them as with a scourge. If now moisture has such potency where there is free space to work in, its effects must be proportionally more when under-ground and pent in. These are the causes outside and within which do the work: by their compelling force they set the winds stirring; these struggle in the narrow gullies; in that close struggle, the channel they traverse chokes them; as when a wave has been sucked up again and again out in the deep sea and has absorbed the violent east winds, the billows come crowding on, and the first are pushed on by that which comes last. Even so the wind, compressed by struggling forces, feels their impact, and wrapping its strength within its bulk drives the close-packed air-particles to and fro in burning rings, and hurries on

AETNA

Quod si forte mihi quaedam discordia tecum est, 305
 Principiis aliis credas *cum* surgere uentos,
 Non dubium rupes aliquas penitusque cauernas
 Prorueri ingenti sonitu, casuque propinquas
 Diffugere impellique animas; hinc crescere uentos:
 Aut umore etiam nebulas effundere largo, 310
 Vt campis agrisque solent quos adluit amnis.
 Vallibus exoriens caligat nubilus aer:
 Flumina parua ferunt auras, uis proxima uento est:
 Eminus adspirat fontis et uerberat umor.
 Atque haec in uacuo si tanta potentia rorum est, 315
 Hoc plura efficiant infra clusique necesse est.
 His agitur causis extra penitusque: coactu
 Exagitant uentos: pugnant in faucibus: arte
 Pugnantis suffocat iter. uelut unda profundo
 Terque quaterque exhausta graues ubi perhibet euros, 320
 Ingeminant fluctus et primos ultimus urget:
 Haud secus adstrictus certamine tangitur ictu
 Spiritus, inuoluensque suo sibi pondere uires,
 Densa per ardentes exercet corpora gyros,

305 Quodsi C 306 principiisque Ald. 1517 et sic uulgo editur
 cum surgere *Baehrens*: consurgere *codd.* uentos *Cv*, *om.* S:
 uentos r 307 Num r *Arund.* 308 Prorueri Ald. 1517:
 Prouehere *CSv* quod frustra tuitus est *Hildebrandt* p. 106: P r
 et sic *Arund.* sonotu correctum in sonitu S 310 humore C
 se fundere *Haupt*: se effundere *Baehrens* 311 Vt Ald. 1517:
 Aut *CSrv* num sedent? abluit *Cv*: obruit r *Arund.*: adluit
Haupt et *Munro* 313 Flumina *SCr* *Arund.*: Flamina v *Haupt*
 uis v: uix *Cr* *Arund.* 314 Et minus *Sr* aspirat r: aspergit
I. H. F. Meineke fortis *SCr*: fōtis v: fontis *scripsi* humor C
 315 inuacuus *SCrv*: in uacuo *Helmst. m. sec.* si C rorum *Iacob*:
 rerum *codd.* quod manu *Walter* 316 officiunt introclusique v:
 num intra clusique? 317 igitur *Scaliger* coactu *scripsi*: coactus C
 quod seruauerunt tamquam nominatiuum pluralis C. F. *Weber* et
Sudhaus: coactis *rv* *Arund.*: coactos *Munro* 319 iter] inter r
Arund. 320 exusta v graues *Cr*: grauis S perhibet C: perbibit
 v: peribere r 321 Ingeminat *rv* primus ultimos *Cr*: primos
 ultimus v: primos ult- S *ceteris abscissis* 322 num adtritrus?
 tangitur ictu *om.* S: fort. aestu 323 uires *codd.*: rupes *Munro*
 324 uires C et r, in quo uersus suo loco omissus post 324 Huicne igitur
 credis etc. additus est neruos v uenas Ald. 1517: gyros *scripsi*

AETNA

wherever it finds a channel, and passes without noticing any air that would delay it, until at last driven on by the conflux as by so many forcing tubes, it rushes out with a bound and discharges in fiery fury from every part of Aetna.

But if, as may chance, you fancy that the winds rush down by the same narrow gullies by which they are expelled and return, Aetna itself will supply your eyes with facts to be observed and will compel denial. However bright the atmosphere may be, with all the dryness of an azure sky, however it may dawn gold-rayed, and ruddy with crimson dye, there is always to be seen in that quarter a sluggish cloud, black and dark, that hangs sullenly around with a dank dripping face, looking out from on high on the action of the mountain and its huge withdrawing chasms. Aetna takes no notice of this cloud, has no outbursts of heat for carrying it away; wherever a light breeze orders it to move, the cloud follows obediently and comes back as before. Besides you may see worshippers pacifying heaven with incense on the topmost ridge, at the very point where the view inside opens to its widest and freest on Aetna's summit, provided nothing occur to inflame and excite the germens from which such dire effects proceed, and a torpor rest on the abyss. Will you not accept this as explaining how it is that the rushing *spirit* which Aetna harbours, that volleyer of rocks and earth, that flasher of sudden fires, is never found, when once it has controlled its powers, and abruptly curbed

AETNA

Et quacumque iter est, properat, transitque morantem, 325
 Donec confluuiū ueluti saponibus actus
 Exilit, atque furens tota uomit igneus Aetna.
 Quod si forte putas isdem decurrere uentos
 Faucibus atque isdem pulsos remeare, notandas
 Res oculis locus ipse dabit cogetque negare. 330
 Quamuis caeruleo siccus Ioue fulgeat aether,
 Purpureoque rubens surgat iubar aureus ostro,
 Illinc obscura semper caligine nubes
 Pigraque defuso circum stupet umida uultu,
 Prospectans sublimis opus uastosque receptus. 335
 Non illam tūdet Aetna nec ullo intercipit aestu;
 Obsequitur quacumque iubet leuis aura reditque.
 Placantes etiam caelestia numina ture
 Summo cerne iugo, uel qua liberrimus Aetna
 In prospectus hiat, tantarum semina rerum 340
 Si nihil irriter flammans stupeatque profundum.
 Huicne igitur credis, torrens ut spiritus illi,
 Qui rupes terramque rotat, qui fulminat ignes,
 Cum rexit uires et praeceps flexit habenas,

326 saponibus *C* idemque fuit in *S* quamuis supersit tantum sapon-
 ueluti *cell. om.* *r* uelut is *v* 328 si *C* decurre *C*: decurrere
e *abscissa* *S*: decurrere *r* idem *r* 329 autque idem *CS*:
 atque isdem (idem *r*) *vr*: fort. atque in idem pulsus *CSrv*: pulsus *ed.*

s. sunt
Paris. 1507 notanda ¹ *C*: notanda *r* *Arund.*: notandas *v* 330 rés *C*
 331 ceruleo siccus *C*: sicco *v*: caeruleus sicco *Iacob* frigeat *r*
Arund.: fugiat *v*: fr- *cell. abscissis* *S* 333 Illic *Scaliger* 334
 defuso *CS*: defusso *r* circumstupet *SCr*: circumstrepit *v* humida
Crv: hui- *cell. abscissis* *S* 335 Prospectant *CS*: Prospectat *rv* quod
 retinuit *Haupt*, inuersis 334, 335: Prospectans *Munro* uastusque *C*:
 uas- ceteris *abscissis* *S* receptus *Crv*: recessus *ed.* *Rubei* 1495
 336 uidet *CSrv*: bibit *Haupt*: uorat *Munro*: fort. mouet inter-
 cepit *r* haustu *Haupt* 338 turae *C* 339 aethnae *r* *Arund.*:
 Aetnae *Haupt*: sed Aetna ablatius potest esse; pro nominatiuo habuit
Munro 340 In prospectus *CSrv* correxit *Schrader* 341 irriter
C: inridet *S*: inritet *r* flammans *scripsi*: flammis *SCrv* Post 344
Haupt 355, 356 locandos putauit 342 Huicne *C*: Huic *Srv* illi
Crv: ille *Scaliger* 343 notat *SCrv* *Arund.*: rotat *Iacob* 344
 Cum rexit *CS*: cur exit *rv* flex- *cell. abscissis* *S*, qui hic desinit

¹ *s. sunt*
² notanda *C* quo uidetur significari scilicet sunt.

AETNA

the rein, tearing down bodies of matter or dislodging them from their strong supporting arch, and this when their natural weight gives them an inclination downwards? I may be wrong; still appearance is on my side, and the bodies that descend with such a rush elude the scrutinizing glance of our eyes¹. . . . When water has sprinkled the hand that circulates the lustral fire, it strikes our faces though without hurting; the bodies of matter charge our bodies and yet fail of their natural effect; so slight is the thing on which depends such repulsion of violence. [So with the air on Aetna's summit when still]: in its utter quiescence it sucks up no cinder or light stubble, no wisp of dry grass, stirs no flimsy particle of chaff: the smoke rises to high heaven from the altars where worshippers kneel; so deep is the repose of that air, the quiet that has no thought of rapine.

Whether then the causes are extraneous or intrinsic that give such potency to the winds in league, the driving force I have described carries up in a mass of black sand flames of fire and pieces of rock; then huge stones shivering as they encounter each other burst into explosions, glowing flame, and detonating flashes all together: even as when forests have lain prostrate under a descending south-wester, or are moaning with a north gale, they

¹ For an entirely different view of this disputed passage see the Commentary.

AETNA

Praesertim ipsa suo declin^{ia} pondere, numquam 345
 Corpora diripiat, ualidoque absoluerit arcu?
 Quod si fallor, adest species: tantusque ruinis
 Impetus adtentos oculorum transfugit ictus,
 †Nec leuitas tantos igitur ferit aura mouetquet
 Sparsa liquore manus sacros ubi uentilat ignis, 350
 Verberat ora tamen, frustrataque corpora nostris
 Incursant: adeo in tenui uim causa repellit

.

Non cinerem stipulamue leuem, non arida sorbet
 Gramina, non tenuis placidissimus excit apludas:
 Surgit adoratis sublimis fumus ab aris, 355
 Tanta quies illi est et pax innoxia rapti.

Siue peregrinis igitur propriisue potentis
 Coniurant animae causis, ille impetus ignes
 Et montis partes atra subuectat harena,
 Vastaque concursu trepidantia saxa fragoris 360
 Ardentesque simul flammās ac fulmina rumpunt.
 Haud aliter quam cum prono iacuerē sub austro
 Aut aquilone fremunt siluae, dant brachia nodo

345 decliua Cr Arund. : decliua v : declinia scripsi 346 diripiat
 r : diripiant Cv : deripiat Clericus absoluerit Scaliger : absolueret
 Crv : absoluerat Arund. m. pr., mox absolueret : ualido quae absol-
 ueret arcu Sudhaus 347 si C : ni r Arund. : nisi v abest
 Schrader : obest spatium Wernsdorf tantusque ruinis Crv : ruinaest
 Munro : ruentis Baehrens : num ruinae? 348 trans fugit C :
 trasfugit r 349 Haec leuitas : tantos Munro : fort. tantusne
 ruinis l. a. o. t. i. Nec leuis astantes igitur ferit aura mouetque?
 351 frustrataque scripsi : pulsataque Crv Iam Maehly coni. pulsataque
 corpora frustra 352 adeo C in tenui uim Cr : tenuis uim v :
 adeo in tenuist, uim Munro 354 placidissimus excit apludas
 scripsi : plantis humus excita predas C : plantis exit humor
 aprendas r Arund. lentissimus iam Iacob coniecerat 355
 odoratis Scaliger 356 igni Maehly pacti marg. rapti v 357
 peregrinus r propriisque Crv : propriisue Scaliger potentis Cr
 quod hic pro nominatio positum ratus est Munro 358 Coniurā r :
 conuent v ignis rv 359 atras . . . harena v : atras subuectat
 arena (harena r) Arund. r subiectat Haupt, quod uerum uidetur
 360 concussu Alsinger : crepitantia Iacob : num strepitantia?
 361 flumina v

AETNA

entwine their arms in a close knot, and with the meeting of the branches the fire spreads on.

Beware, again, of being misled by the insensate rabble's lies, as if the hollows of the mountain lost their potency and ceased to act; lapses of time alone giving them the power to grasp their forces again and bring them back to battle after defeat. Away with a thought so foul, throw from you rumour with all her lies. No poverty so mean attends aught divine or begs for petty supplies, or asks for small contributions of air. Ever there are workmen at hand, the winds' swarming crew. Only there is a cause you do not see, strong enough to interrupt the passage, and compel obstruction. Often some rocky mass piled up with fallen boulders chokes the gullies and closes up the avenues against the wrestling of the winds at the bottom, keeping them, as it were, close pent beneath an impenetrable weight. Or it holds them in check by a similar obstruction, when the mountain is cold and sluggish, and the winds are free to pass down it unmolested. After a while, when they have first sunk into silence, they press on all the swifter for the stoppage, confront and repel the masses of rock, burst their bonds asunder, wherever anything crosses their path obliquely, break a passage through; then ensues a rush all the fiercer for the check received: a flame blazes out that busies itself with a wide task of ravin, and with the onset of a flood spreads far and wide over the fields, if after long inaction the winds renew their mimic drama once more. Now let the forests pour freely all their abundant stores of burning material, everything

AETNA

Implicitae, ac serpunt iunctis incendia ramis.
 Nec te decipiant stolidi mendacia uulgi, 365
 Exhaustos cessare sinus, dare tempora rursus
Vt rapiant uires, repetantque in proelia uicti.
 Pelle nefas animi mendacemque exue famam.
 Non est diuinis tam sordida rebus egestas,
 Nec paruas mendicat opes nec conrogat auras. 370
 Praesto sunt operæ, uentorum examina, semper :
 Causa latet quae rumpat iter cogatque morari.
 Saepe premit fauces magnis exstructa ruinis
 Congeries clauditque uias luctamine ab imo,
 Et spisso ueluti tector sub pondere praestat : 375
Aut simili tenet occursu, cum frigida monti
 Desidia est, tutoque licet descendere uentis.
 Post ubi conticuere, mora uelocius urgent :
 Pellunt oppositi moles ac uincula rumpunt.
 Quicquid in obliquum est, frangunt iter : acrior ictu 380
 Impetus exoritur, magnis operata rapinis
 Flamma micat, latosque ruens exundat in agros,
 Si cessata diu referunt spectacula uenti.
 Nunc superant quaecumque, rigent incendia siluae,

364 ac Wernsdorf: haec Cr Arund. : he v : hac Clericus : fortasse

hinc 365 té C solidi r 366 Exhaustos Cr: Exaustos v
 367 *Vt ed. Rub. 1475* : Aut Cv : Haud r Arund. 369 diuinis ed. Paris.
 1507 : diuitiis Crv Arund. aegestas C 370 paruo rv Arund.
 congregat v 371 opere Cv : operi r Arund. semper (sic) r
 at tur
 373 Sepe C exstructa Cr 374 luctamur C : luctamine r Arund.
 Munro 375 Et scisso Cv : Escisso r Arund. : Et spisso Iacob
 tecto Cr Arund. : trecto v : tectos scripsi pressat Baehrens 376
sic ex coniectura scripsi Haud similis teneros cursu cum (cum sucum v)
 Cv : sed r et Helmst. habent cur secum Haud sinit hiscere eos cursu
 Iacob sursum Haupt et spisso ueluti tecto, sub pondere praestat
 Haud simili strepere hos cursu Munro 377 discedere Cv Arund. :
 descendere r : desiderare Iacob uentis Iacob : montes Crv : motis
 Buecheler 378 conticuere Cr Arund. : continuere moram v, quod
recepit de Serionne : corripuere moram de Rooy : contumere Birt 379
 oppositi Cr : oppositas v ac C 380 Quicquid C 381 onerata Iacob
 383 Si C : Sic Haupt 384 rigent scripsi : rigant Munro : regant Cr
 Arund. : regnant v : tegunt Iacob : gerant Baehrens : creant Wagler

AETNA

that as fuel is fitted to call out the diverse flames Aetna feeds ; they will burn without difficulty. The causes which produce that combustion have materials of home growth, and there is a kind of earth akin to fire which lends its service. At one time there is the hot fluid sulphur that burns incessantly ; at another a liquid offers, thickened with a copious flow of alum ; oily bitumen is there, and all that rouses violent flames when brought close up : that is the substance which makes up Aetna.

Indeed to prove that these materials are dispersed up and down in the heart of the mountain, there are springs of tainted water which ripple close under its base. Another portion of the substance lies visible to the eye ; its solid part is hard, a true stone ; yet in its viscid pulp burns a glowing fire. Furthermore, there are particular rocks with no special name which liquefy in every part of the mountain ; these have a real and steadfast conservancy of flame assigned them : but the supreme source of such outbreak of fire is the lava-stone ; this it is which claims Aetna as its own.

If you happen to hold this lava-stone in your hand and try it by its solid part, you would not believe it could burn or disseminate fire : yet the moment you put question with an iron mallet, it returns answer and vents its rage in sparks to the blow : plunge it in the midst of a strong furnace and allow this to wring from it its proud spirit, and in this

AETNA

Quae flammas alimenta uocent, quot nutriat Aetna: 385
 Incendi poterunt. illis uernacula causis
 Materia adpositumque igni genus utile terraest.
 Vritur assidue calidus nunc sulphuris umor,
 Nunc spissus crebro praebetur alumine sucus.
 Pingue bitumen adest et quidquid comminus acris 390
 Irritat flammas: illius corporis Aetna est.
 Atque hanc materiam penitus discurrere, fontes
 Infectae crispantur aquae radice sub ipsa.
 Pars oculis manifesta iacet, quae robore dura est
 Ac lapis: in pingui feruent incendia suco. 395
 Quin etiam uarie quaedam sine nomine saxa
 Toto monte liquent: illis custodia flammae
 Vera tenaxque data est. Sed maxima causa molaris
 Illius incendi lapis est; is uindicat Aetnam.
 Quem si forte manu teneas, ac robore cernas, 400 -
 Nec feruere putes, ignem nec spargere posse.
 Sed simul ac ferro quaeras, respondet, et ictu
 Scintillat dolor: hunc multis circum inice flammis,
 Et patere extorquere animos atque exue robur.

385 flammas *Cr Arund.*: flammis *v* uocent *Crv Arund.* quod *pro*
 uacent *positum ratus est Munro* quot *scripsi*: quid *Cv*: quod
r Arund. nutriat *Crv Arund.* aethnam *C*: ethna *rv Arund.*
Locum sic constituit Munro Nunc superant quaecumque rigant incendia
 siluae; Quae flammis alimenta uocant, quod nutriet Aetna, Incendi
 poterunt. *Sudhaus sic* Nunc superant quaecumque regant incendia
 siluae, Quae flammas alimenta uocent, quid nutriet Aetnam 386
 Incendi *p. cum sequentibus iungebat Sudhaus* 387 altile *Alsinger*
 terraest *Wernsdorff*: terrent *Crv*: torrent *Scaliger* 388 sulphuris
 humor *Cr* 389 alumine *Iacob*: numine *C*: uimine *v* quod *inter-*
pretatus est Gronovius Observatt. ii. 6: prebet munimine *r Arund.*
 390 quicquid *Cr* 393 crispantur *scripsi*: eripiantur *Cv* quod *frustra*
initus est Sudhaus: eripiant *r Arund.*: eripient et *Haupt*: testantur
Maehly aque *r*: atque *C* 394 corpore *Arund.* 395 inpingui *C*:
 at pingui *Iacob* 396 sine nomine *r Arund.*: sine numine *Cv* 397
 liquent *Cr Arund.*: liquant *v Munro* 398 Sera *excerpta Pithoeana*
 mola acris *C*: molatrix *om.* causa *v*: molaris *r* 399 incendia *r* est
 is *Munro*: lapis est si *C*: lapis sic *r Arund.*: lapidis sic *v*: is sibi *Cleri-*
cus: est, sibi *Sudhaus*: est hic *Iacob* 400 ac *C*: a *r* robora *Clericus*
et excerpta Pithoeana 403 dolor *Crv Arund.*: calor *ed. Par.* 1507:
 color *ed. Rub.* 1475 isse *pro inice r Arund.* 404 pater *r Arund.*

AETNA

way strip away its solid strength; you shall see it fused quicker than iron; for lava has a nature that is readily affected and shrinks from harm under compulsion of fire. Still, when it has once absorbed the flame, safer home for what it has absorbed there cannot be, preserving as it does its jagged edge, and hardening its several party-walls with a stubborn fidelity: once overpowered its submissiveness is that of an insensate thing. Scarcely ever is it known to reassert its strength and discharge fire. For being throughout a coal-like mass of close-packed strength, it admits and feeds its fires only through narrow channels, and after they have once been drawn in relaxes its hold upon them tardily and with reluctance. Yet think not, that because lava forms the largest portion of the mountain, this fact alone gives it predominance and makes it the central source of combustion: in very truth the vitality and determination of the stone is extraordinary: while all other substances that breed fire, if once kindled, die down, with nothing left in them to return for; a mere mass of embers and earth that has no germ of fire; this lava-stone readily submitting again and again, and with a thousand fires successively absorbed, goes on to new strength, and ceases not to do so till its heart has been burnt out of it and it falls into ashes exhausted, a light pumice-like substance: throwing off when dissolved a crumbling sand.

Test the point again by particular regions: place

AETNA

Fundetur ferro citius; nam mobilis illi 405
 Et metuens natura mali est, ubi cogitur igni.
 Sed simul atque hausit flammās, non tutior hausti
 Villa domus, seruans aciem duransque tenaci
 Saepta fide; *bruta* est illi patientia uicto,
 Vix umquam redit in uires atque euomit ignem. 410
 Totus enim, denso stipatus robore carbo,
 Per tenuis admissa uias incendia nutrit,
 Cunctanterque eadem et pigre *concepta* remittit.
 Nec tamen hoc uno, quod montis plurima pars est,
 Vincit et incendi causam tenet ille: profecto 415
 Miranda est lapidis uiuax animosaque uirtus.
 Cetera materies quaecumque est fertilis igni
 Vt semel accensa est, moritur, nec restat in illa
 Quod repetas: tantum cinis et sine semine terra est.
Hic semel atque iterum patiens ac mille perhaustis 420
 Ignibus instaurat uires, nec desinit ante
 Quam leuis excocto defecit robore pumex
 In cinerem, putresque iacit dilapsus harenas.

Cerne locis etiam: similes adsiste cauernas.

406 naturam alii C: natura mali *rv* cogitur *v* Munro: coritur C:
 coquitur *r* Ar.: corpitur *Baehrens*: carpitur *Alsinger* 407 haustu
 Ar.: fort. haustist 408 faciem *Wernsdorf* duramque *Crv*:

i

duransque *Scaliger*: fort. diuumque tenace *v* 409 Septa *Crv*
 fide C: fides *rv* Ar. *bruta scripsi*: tutum *codd.* quod retinuit
Sudhaus: tanta *Scaliger*: tuta *Iacob*: fides ut tum Munro: num
 sua tum? 410 *Vix v ignē (sic) v* 411 stipatur *Cv* Ar.:
 stipatus *Clericus* carbo *scripsi*: cardo C: paruo *margin.* tarda *v*:
 tardans *r* Ar.: tarde *Helmstad.* quod mihi quidem ab *Italis* interpola-

s

tum uidetur, quamuis id plerique et Munro receperint 412 Pertenuis
 C 413 coepta *Gr*: accepta *v*: concepta *Munro* 415 num
 Vincit, uincendi?: uincet *v* 416 lapidis *de Rooy*: lapidum *codd.*
 quod retinuit *Sudhaus* 417 Caetera C 420 Sic *Cv*: Si *r* Ar.:
 Hic *ed. Paris.* 1507 422 punex *v* 423 iacet *r* Ar. *uulg.*: iacet
 C quod retinui: iacens *excerpta Pithoeana* dilapsus *Haupt* *Munro*:
 delapsus *Crv* Ar. 424 adsiste C: adscisse *r*: adisse *v*: arsisse *Itali*,
uulgo Locris *Wagler*: locis etiam his *Munro* adsiste retinendum
docui Journ. of Philology xxiii, 17 (1895): post me sic edidit *Sudhaus*

¹ *h. e.* accusatiuus

AETNA

yourself by caverns of the same kind. In these there is a larger store of materials that spring naturally: but just because this lava-stone (colour is the surest test of its presence) has nowhere combined its forces, the fire has died away. Legend tells how Aenaria in former times burst by sudden surprise into flame; now it has long been extinct. Again, there is still to be seen a place between Neapolis and Cumae, which many years since ceased to burn, though sulphur oozes out in unctuous abundance for all time. Men gather it for sale, so far beyond Aetna is its full supply. The island, which has been named from its actual appearance 'the round,' is soil which has more than sulphur or bitumen to make it unctuous: there is a stone, besides, which lends its help, one that is naturally fitted to produce fire: yet it is seldom known to discharge smoke, and with equal difficulty glows to heat, when kindled, because the supply feeds only short-lived flames and for a little time. An island survives into our day, consecrated as the island of Vulcan; yet the conflagration in it has for the most part cooled, and now gives the shelter of a safe harbour to fleets tossed in the open sea. The rest is smaller and is a fairly rich soil in its abundance of material: yet it is not such as to match its strength with Aetna's wondrous store. And for all that this very island would have long since been extinguished, were it

AETNA

Illic materiae nascentis copia maior. 425
 Sed genus hoc lapidis (certissima signa coloris)
 Quod nullas adiunxit opes, elanguit ignis.
 Dicitur insidiis flagrasse Aenaria quondam,
 Nunc extincta *diu*: superestque Neapolin inter
 Et Cumas locus, ex multis iam frigidus annis, 430
 Quamvis aeternum pingui scatet ubere sulphur.
 In mercem legitur, tanto est fecundius Aetna.
 Insula cui nomen facies dedit ipsa Rotunda,
 Sulphure non solum nec obesa bitumine terra est:
 Et lapis adiutat generandis ignibus aptus. 435
 Sed raro fumat, qui uix, si accenditur, ardet;
 In breue mortales flammās quod copia nutrit.
 Insula durat *adhuc* Vulcani nomine sacra;
 Pars tamen incendi maior *refrixit*, et alto
 Lactatas recipit classes portuque tuetur. 440
 Quae restat, minor et diues satis ubere terra est,
 Sed non Aetnaeo uires quae conferat illi.
 Atque haec ipsa tamen iam quondam *extincta* fuisset,
 Cerne locos etiam similes, adsiste cauernis *Alsinger* 425 pascentis
Schrader 426 colonis *v* 427 elanguit *Iacob*: et languit
Cr 428 Discitur *de Rooy* 429 *indiciis de Serionne* 1736
 flagrasse *Wesseling ad Antonin. Itinerar. p. 515*: flagrans *Cv Ar.*
 enarea *C*: en aera *r*: enearia *v* 429 Nunc extincta super
 testisque (tectisque *r*) *Cr*, quod potest sic explicari, extincta super ut
 significetur Aenaria super extinctos ignes superficiem habens herbis
 arboribusque connectam. Excerpta *Pilhoeana* habent 'Corrigitur: exstin
 super testisque cta: ~~testis superque~~ Neapolin,' quo confirmatur id quod
 olim ex coniectura posui Nunc extincta [diu], superestque Neapolin
 inter, cum eadem excerpta habeant scriptum in margine uersus 428
 superest 430 ex scripsi: et *Cv*: om. *r Ar.* 431 *correx*
Journal of Philology, III, p. 276, anni 1871 pinguescat etubere *C*:
 pinguescat ex ubere *r Ar.*: pingue scatet malebat *Sudhaus* 432
 hoc uersu desinit *v* fecundior Aetna *Uliti* 434 bitumine *C*:
 acumine *r Ar.* 435 lapsis *C* ad iutat *C* 436 qui *C Ar.*: et *r*:
 quin *Itali* 437 flammās *r* 438 durata *Cr*: durat *adhuc Scaliger*
 Therasia est *Iacob*: clarata est *Haupt*: adoratur *Postgate* 439
 maiore frixit *C*: maior *refrixit r* 440 lactata *C*: lactatas *r*:
 lactatas *Ar.* 442 aethnei *Cr Ar.* quae *Cr Ar.* illi *Cr Ar.*
 Sed n. Aetneis uires quae conf. illis *ed. Paris. 1507, Munro*: Sed non
 Aetnaeo u. quae c. igni *Haupt* 443 extincta *C*

AETNA

not that Aetna, being close by, supplied it secretly with its own substances and material, or drove the winds through some sunken pipe to and fro, and gave aliment to the fire.

Fact, however, meets us with a better voucher than any mere sign, and with the test of real proofs : fact makes no attempt to misrepresent a witness. For all round the flanks and at the lowest base of Aetna are white-hot stones discharging heat, and loose-scattered rocks with smouldering pores, enough to make you believe, as a fact of sight, that it is the lava-stone which is the aliment and cause of burning : and when this is scanty the fires it gets together are starved. The flames once got in, it discharges them, and in doing so kindles by its impact other material, forcing this to melt with it in one flame. It is, indeed, no wonder that the effects we see outside Aetna should teem as they do : the volcanic action, if toned down, is still unspent : the stronger burning of the lava, its more potent solicitation of adjoining combustibles, its infallible premonitions of a coming conflagration are in the *other* centre, within the crater. As soon as [the mountain] sets its forces in motion and after threatening turmoil (*lacuna*) [the earth] flies asunder and in an instant pulls the soil away ; whereupon convulsed through its branching pores [Aetna trembles] and a deep rumbling under ground

AETNA

Ni furtim adgereret Siculi uicinia montis,
 Materiam siluamque suam, pressoue canali 445
 Huc illuc ageret uentos et pasceret ignes.
 Sed melius res ipsa notis spectataque ueris
 Occurrit signis nec temptat fallere festem.
 Nam circa latera atque imis radicibus Aetnae
 Candentes efflant lapides, disiectaque saxa 450
 Intereunt uenis; manifesto ut credere possis
 Pabula et ardendi causam lapidem esse molarem,
 Cuius defectus ieiunos colligit ignis.
 Ille ubi collegit flammās, iacit, et simul ictu
 Materiam accendit cogitque liquescere secum. 455
 Haud equidem mirum scaterest, quae cernimus extra;
 Si lenitur opus, restat: magis uritur illic,
 Sollicitatque magis uicina incendia saxum,
 Certaue uenturae praemittit pignera flammae.
 Nam simul atque mouet uires turbamque minatus 460
 Diffugit, ex temploque solum trahit, tictaque ramist

444 furtim *r*: furtum *C* adgeneret *C*: adgenerat *r Ar*: adgeret
Sloan: adgereret *ed. Rub.* 1475 siculi uicinia montis *C solus*:
 reliqui codices aut nihil aut interpolata praebent 446 ager et *C*:
 ageres *r* pasceret *Ald.* 1517: posceret *Cr Ar.* 447 res *C*:
 notis *C*: nota est *Sloanianus*: docet *Haupt* melior res ipsa nota est
 de Rooy spectaque *C* ueris *ed. Rub.* 1475: uentis *C*: uenis *r Ar*:
 fort. lentis 448 testem *Haupt*: pestem *Cr Ar.* 451 mani-
 feste *r Ar.* 453 defectus *r* ieiunos *r Ar*: ieiunus *C* colligit
Cr Ar: concipit de Rooy: corripit *Haupt*: conficit *Maehly*, *Munro*:
 colligit *Damsté* interpretatus est in angustum cogere, allato *Tib.*
 i. 8. 14 Ansaque compressos colligit arta pedes (*Mnemos.* xvii.
 p. 198) 454 iacit *ed. Paris.* 1507: iacet *Cr Ar.* 456 mirum
 facie que *C*: mirum scute (*scate Ar.*) quod *r Ar*: unde scripsi scaterest
 haud equidem mirum: faex est quod cernimus extra *Haupt*: H. e.
 mirum facie, qua cernimus extra *Munro* 457 Si *C*: Sed *r Ar*:
 restat *C Ar*: restat *r* illic *Cr*: num intus? Si lenitur opus reses:
 at *Scaliger*: reses ac de *Serionne* 459 pignora *C* 460 uires *C*:
 curis *r Ar*. minatus *C*: mimutus *r*: minatur *Ulitius*. Post hunc u.
 lacunam cum *Munrone* notauit 461 extemploque *r*: extemploque *C*

AETNA

as well as an outbreak of fire give notice (of what is to come). It is then that you will do well to flee in affright and give way to the divine action: a hill will provide you with a secure outlook for observing all.

In a moment a fire blazes out loaded with what it has torn away: masses of fiery matter move up, amorphous falling rocks roll out shoals of sand sending a noise to the stars. These form irregular shapes and human semblances: part of the stones is a foe under defeat, some show the sturdy strength of a standing fight, resisting all approaches of the flames: on one side the enemy is panting with unspent fury, and opening out his forces, on another his fierce bluster is abating: even as when an army routed in triumphant defeat lies prostrate on the plains close up to the very doors of the camp. Any stone which is then found to have liquefied under a surface fire has, when it is quenched, a more rugged and grimy kind of slag, like the scoria which you may see drop below when iron is smelted. But when the falling stones have by slow degrees risen and sprung up into a pile, they narrow to an apex as they ascend: just as a stone is calcined in a kiln, where all the liquid

AETNA

Et graue sub terra murmur demonstrat et ignes.
 Tum pauidum fugere, et sacris concedere rebus,
 Par erit; ex tuto speculaberis omnia colli.
 Nam subito efferuent honerosa incendia raptis, 465
 Accensae subeunt moles, truncaequae ruinae
 Prouoluunt adque astra sonant examina harenae.
 Illinc incertae facies hominumque figurae:
 Pars lapidum domita, stantis pars robora pugnae,
 Nec recipit flammās; hinc indefessus anhelat 470
 Atque aperit se hostis, decrescit spiritus illinc.
 Haud aliter quam cum laeto deuicta tropaeo
 Prona iacet campis acies et castra sub ipsa.
 Tum si quis lapidum summo pertabuit igni,
 Asperior sopito et quaedam sordida faex est, 475
 Qualem purgato cernes desiderare ferro.
 Verum ubi paulatim exsiluit sublata caducis
 Congeries saxi, angusto uertice surgunt,
 Sic ueluti in fornace lapis torretur et omnis

ictaque ramis *Cr*: atque tremiscit *Haupt*: num raris? an actaque
 rimis? *Post hunc u. lacunam notauit* 462 denuntiat ignes *Iacob*
 463 concedere *C*: confugere *r Ar.*: quod ex consurgere corrumpi
 potuit 464 Par erit *Scaliger*: Parere *Cr Ar.*: Par rere *Sudhaus*
 ex scripsi: et *Cr Ar.*: e *Scaliger*, et sic excerpta *Pithoeana* colli
Sloanianus et ed. Paris. 1507: collis *Cr Ar.* quod retinuit *Sudhaus*
 465 numerosa incedia *r* rupis *Ulitius*: raptim *Struchtmeyer*
 466 tructeque *r* 467 adque astra scripsi: atque astra *ed. Paris.*
 1507: atque atra *Cr* 468, 469 om. *r Ar.* 469 domitast
Munro stantis *Munro*: stanti *C* quod retinuit *Birt*: num at
 stantis? 470 recipit *r Ar.*: repit *C* flammās hinc defensūs *C*:
 flammās (-as *Ar.*) nec hic (hinc *Ar.*) defessus *r Ar.*: hic iam
 defessus *Schenkl*: donec d. *Birt*: hinc indefensus *Baehrens*: hinc
 indefessus scripsi *Journ. of Philol.* xvi. p. 308 (1887) et sic nunc
Sudhaus 471 se *C*: se om. *r Ar.* hosti *Scaliger* illic *Cr*
Ar. illinc scripsi 472 trophaeo *C* 473 Prima iacit *r*
 475 sopitae *C*: sospites *Corsinianus* 43 F. 3. 21: sopita est *r*:
 scobis iis excerpta *Pithoeana*: scabres *Scaliger*: sopita *Clericus*:
 sopito *Maehly quem secutus sum*: species *Munro*: tophis *Franke*:
 num post aestum? 476 cernes *Cr Ar.*: cernas *Munro*
 descendere *r*: discedere *Sloan.* 477 exiluit *C* 478 (angusto
 uertice surgunt) *Hildebrandt p. 103 tamquam parenthesisin fort.*
 angusto et 479 torquetur *r*

AETNA

is burnt within the pores and ascends in evaporation. Its substance thus lost, it is sifted off a light imponderable pumice: meanwhile that lava-liquid assumes a hotter glow and begins, after a long pause, to advance more in the likeness of a gently-flowing stream, pouring its waves down the slopes of the hills. The waves move gradually on and on for six miles twice repeated; in truth, there is nothing that calls them back, nothing that checks the resolute approach of the flames, nothing massy that bars the way without stopping them: everything is in conflict at once. Here forests and cliffs, elsewhere the earth and surface soil are afloat: the lava-stream itself reinforces their supply, and takes them into its current readily conforming thereto. If it happens to halt and is arrested in some valley's depth, it grazes at large, as you might guess, along the unevennesses of the fields where it rolls its way: then the lava-billows come crowding up, and the flood sounds noisily with up-standing waves (even as when some rushing sea dips forward with a cresting tide), and at first drives them before it of small size and in flat curves; such as are farther out . . . (*lacuna*); as it advances, (the current) streams far and wide in all directions, and sifting out (what it cannot retain) . . . (*lacuna*). The lava-streams halt with their banks¹ arrested, and the cold stiffens them into hardness: then by degrees the fires close up, and lose the appearance of a waving field of flame. As each mass successively

¹ I. e. outer-margins.

AETNA

Exustus penitus uenis subit altius umor. 480
 Amissis opibus leuis et sine pondere pumex
 Excutitur: liquor ille magis feruere magisque
 Fluminis in speciem mitis procedere tandem
 Incipit et pronis demittit collibus undas.
 Illae paulatim bis sena in milia pergunt. 485
 Quippe nihil reuocat, certis nihil ignibus obstat,
 Nulla tenet frustra moles, simul omnia pugnant.
 Nunc siluae rupesque natant, hic terra solumque,
 Ipse adiutat opes facilesque sibi induit amnis.
 Quod si forte cauis cunctatus uallibus haesit, 490
 Vtpote inaequalis uoluens perpascitur agros;
 Ingeminant fluctus et stantibus increpat undis,
 (Sicut cum rapidum curuo mare cernulat aestu,)
 Ac primum tenuis simans agit, ultiores

 Progrediens late diffunditur et succernens 495

 Flumina consistunt ripis ac frigore durant,
 Paulatimque ignes coeunt, ac flammea messis
 Exuitur facies. tum prima ut quaeque rigescit

480 Exustus *r Ar.* abit altis *Baehrens* humor *Cr* 482
 Exquoquitur *r* 483 mitis *Cr*: num miri? 484 pronis
Suringar et Munro: prunis *C*: primis *Ar.* dimittit *Cr*: demittit
Scaliger 486 certis *Wernsdorf*: curtis *C*: cartis *r Ar.*: curuis
Munro et sic excerpta Pithocana: tortis *Birt* ostat *C* 488 notant
Cr Ar.: uorat *Cors.*: rotant *Wernsdorf*: uocant *Iacob*: natant
Baehrens Nunc siluas rupesque uorant, nunc terra solumque
 Ipsum a. o. *Haupt* 489 Ipsa *Cr Ar.*: Ipse *Scaliger*: Ipsum
Clericus quem secuntur plerique annis *r Ar.* 490 uasibus *r*:
 faucibus *Christianus Crusius* 1753 491 inaequalis *C*: inaequales *r*
 prepascitur *Ar.*: Aut per inaeq. u. compescitur a. *Maehly* 492
 Ingeminant *C r Ar.*: Ingeminat *ed.* 1475 493 turbo *Vollmer*
 cernulus *C Ar.*: tēŕulus *r*: cernuat *Gronov*: cernulat *Iacob*:
 cernimus *Munro*: cernulus *retinuit Sudhaus sc.* amnis 494
 tenuis imas agit *C*: tenuis . . . agit *r (sic)*: simas *Helmstad. unde*
Munro scripsit Ac primum tenuis, simas agit ultiores: simans
scripsi. Post 494 lacunam posui 495 *Post hunc u. lacunam*
statuit Munro 496 ac *C* 497 ac *C* massis *D'Oruille*

AETNA

(cools and) stiffens it discharges a fume, and drawn onwards by sheer weight rolls along with a mighty uproar ; and whenever it has dashed headlong against some solid body that rings at its approach, spreads to and fro the blows of its percussion, shining with a white-hot core at any point where it has been laid open. At each blow a swarm of sparkles shoot out, the burning rocks flash fire : away, swift feet, away with all your speed. For these rocks lose nothing of their glowing heat in falling : yet, albeit their furious sweep has ere now crossed the banks of Symaethus' river, human effort will scarcely avail to part these banks from their state of fixture with grappling-irons to help ; often the mass of rock lies buried for twenty whole days together.

But all in vain I struggle to arrange each successive point under its assigned cause, if you cling persistently to a lying fable, and believe that it is a different substance that turns to liquid fire, that it is from their cinderous property that lava-floods harden to consistency, or if you hold to the belief that what burns is sulphur mixed with glutinous bitumen ; because, as they say, when potters' clay has been burnt in a furnace its inner substance fuses in the same way, of which fact potters are an attestation ; later, as it grows gradually colder, it returns to its previous hardness and closes up its pores. But that sign of a common nature is only trivial, a cause without validity that wavers dubiously : there is an unmistakable token by which the truth is established to your conviction.

AETNA

Effumat moles, atque ipso pondere tracta
 Voluitur ingenti strepitu, praecepsque sonanti 500
 Cum solido inflixa est, pulsatos dissipat ictus,
 Et qua disclusa est, candenti robore fulget.
 Emicat examen plagis, ardentia saxa
 Scintillant: procul este pedes, procul este, ruentis!
 Incolumi feruore cadunt: uerum impetus ingens 505
 Simaethi quondam ut ripas traiecerit amnis,
 Vix unciis quisquam fixo dimouerit illas.
 Vicenos persaepe dies iacet obruta moles.

Sed frustra certis disponere singula causis
 Temptamus, si firma manet tibi fabula mendax, 510
 Materiam ut credas aliam fluere igne, fauillae
 Flumina proprietate simul concreescere, siue
 Commixtum lento flagrare bitumine sulphur.
 Nam post exustam cretam quoque robora fundi,
 Et figulos huic esse fidem, dein frigoris usu 515
 Duritiem reuocare suam et constringere uenas.
 Sed signum commune leue est, atque irrita causa
 Quae trepidat: certo uerum tibi pignere constat.

501 inflexa *Cr Ar.*: inflixa *Scaliger*: inflicta *uulg.* pulsantis
Clericus 502 quia *ed. Par.* 1507: displosa *Scaliger*: discussa
D'Oruille 503 examen: plagis *Munro* 504 Scintillant *Scaliger*:
 Scintillas *C*: Scintilla *r* este *D'Oruille*: procul este pedes, procul
 este *scripsi*: procul esse fides (fide *r*) procul esse *Cr* procul ecce
 uide procul ecce *Clericus* (ecce *Scaliger*) Scintillas procul esse fides,
 procul esse ruentis *Munro* Scintillae procul ecce fides, procul ecce
 ruentis, Incolumi feruore cadunt *Sudhaus* 505 ingens *Baehrens*:
 uel su
 ignes *Cr Ar.* 506 Simethi *C*: Si uel fumanti *r Arund. h. e.* Simethi
 quondam *om. r* utripas *C* 507 iunctis *Cr*: uncis¹ *scripsi* faxo
Munro demouerat *Ar.* 508 Vicenos *Helmstad.*: Vicinos *Cr Ar.*
 dies *Cr Ar.* pedes *D'Oruille*, quod receperunt plerique 510
 sifirma *C* 511 fruere *r Ar.*: furere *Sloanianus* fauillae *Clericus*:
 fauilla *C*: fauillam *r Ar.*: ignis, ab illa *Baehrens* 512 Plurima *r*
Ar. nescio an recte sicut *Baehrens* 513 Conustum *r Ar.* 514
 exhaustam *r* robora *r*: robore *C* fundi *Wernsdorf*: fundit *Cr*
Ar.: fort. Nam posse exustam c. q. robore fundi 518 tripidat *C*:
 fort. tripidat certo *Sloan.*: certe *C*: *om. r Ar.* tibi *C*: sibi *excerpta*
Pithoeana: ubi *r*: ibi *Ar.* pignore *Cr Ar.*

¹ unco iam *excerpta Pithoeana.*

AETNA

For such as is the quality of copper when combined with fire and fused, unalterable, the same, retaining its substance unchanged, permitting you to recognize, whether in a fused or solid state, the share allotted to the copper: even so our lava-stone, whether it happens to dissolve into fluid fire or is safe from its action, keeps and conserves its characteristics, the fire has not affected its look. Nay, there are many for whom its colour alone disproves any alien semblance, without appealing to smell or lightness; the stone decays more and more, yet its way of working has still one unchanged look, the earth composing it is throughout the same¹. Not that I would deny the fact of particular stones taking a glow or burning fiercely within when once kindled: it is a specific property which they possess. Nay the Sicilians have given to actual stones a particular title *rhydae*, and in the very letters of the word indicate that they possess a fusible character. Still, these stones never liquefy, though they have a more pulpy substance within to foster heat, unless their centre has been brought into contact with the structure of the lava-stone.

If, however, there be any that is surprised that a stone's core should be fusible, let him ponder those truest axioms of Heraclitus' dark treatise, 'nothing is insuperable by fire,' 'of all the seeds sown within

¹ Or, possibly: 'in such degree as the stone falls to decay, in such its mode of working has an unchanged look, and the earth of which it consists is throughout the same.'

AETNA

Nam uelut arguti natura est aeris et ignis,
 Cum domitum est, constans eademque et robore saluo,
 Vtraque ut possis aeris cognoscere partem; 521
 Haud aliter lapis ille tenet, seu forte madentes
 Effluit in flammās, siue est securus ab illis,
 Conseruatque notas, nec uultum perdidit ignis.
 Quin speciem externam multis color ipse refellit, 525
 Non odor aut leuitas: putris magis ille magisque
 Vna operis facies eadem perque omnia terra est.
 Nec tamen infitior lapides ardescere certos,
 Interius furere accensos: haec propria uirtus.
 Quin ipsis quaedam Siculi cognomina saxis 530
 Inposuere frichas, et iam ipso nomine signant,
 Fusilis esse notae: numquam tamen illa liquescunt,
 Quamuis materies foueat sucosior intus,
 Ne penitus uenae fuerint commissa molari.
 Quod si quis lapidis miratur fusile robur, 535
 Cogitet obscuri uerissima dicta libelli,
 Heraclite, tui: nihil insuperabile ab igni,

519 ab igni *Scaliger* 520 Condomitum *r Ar.* constans *Haupt*:
 constat *Cr Ar.* 521 Vtraque *Munro*: Vtraque *C*: Vtramque *r Ar.*
 cognoscer *C* portam *Cr Ar.* quod seruauerunt *Buecheler et Sudhaus*:
 partem *Clericus*: formam *Baehrens et excerpta Pithoeana*: fort. sortem
 522 tener *excerpta Pithoeana* 524 uultum *C*: uultu *r* ignis
C r Ar.: igne *Scaliger*: igni *Haupt et excerpta Pithoeana* 525
 speciem scripsi: etiam *Cr Ar.* multus *r Ar.* refellit *C*: resoluit *r*
 526 odora ut *C*: mador *Haupt* 527 eademque per *r*, non *Ar.*
 528 inficior *C* 529 Interitus *C* accenso *C*: accensos *r*
 propala *C r Ar.*: propria *Sloan. et ed. 1475* 530 Quinipsis *C*:
 Qin ipsis *r* quaedam *Cr*: quondam *Munro* 531 fridicas *C*:
 frichas *r Ar.*: chytas uel rhytas *Scaliger*: rhyacas *Kaibel*: diphyryx
 uel diphyrges (*διφύργης*) omisso iam *Birt* etiam ipso omine signifi-
 carit *C*: atque ipso nomine signant *r*: et ipso n. s. *Ar.* 532
 Fusilis *C*: Fusiles *r* notas *Cr Ar.* Fusilis esse notae *Maehly*
 533 successor *Ar.*: succentior *r*: num succentior? 534 Nei
 scripsi: Ni *Clericus*: Nec *Cr Ar.* fort. commista 535 lapides
C Ar.: lapidis *Sloan.* fixile *r Ar.* 537 Heracliti et ubi est
r: ab igni *Scaliger*: igni etiam *excerpta Pithoeana sed incertum*
 quo pertineat: nam in codice ad illa et ibi referri uidetur sed, ut credo,
 per errorem: gigni *Cr cf. Heracliti Reliq.* xxii *Bywater* πυρός ἀνταπει-
 βεται πάντα καὶ πῦρ πάντων, ὥσπερ χρυσοῦ χρήματα καὶ χρημάτων
 χρυσοῦ.

AETNA

the realm of nature, this (fire) is the wondrous nursery;’ bodies of closest texture and nearly solid we notwithstanding often reduce by fire. See you not how copper with all its stubbornness gives way to flame? Does not fire strip away the toughness of lead? Even iron’s substance, for all its exceeding hardness, is undermined by fire; solid nuggets of gold sweat out their precious ore in the pendent smelting-kilns; and it may well be that the depths of earth have lying in them some undiscovered substances subject to the same allotment of nature. This is no place for ingenuity: judge for yourself, and you will allow that the eyes are convincing. You see how rigid is the lava-stone, how it is barred up in front and resists all approach of fire, if you try to burn it with only small fires and in the open sky: well now, confine this same stone in a close white-hot kiln, it cannot hold out or maintain itself against that fierce enemy: it is defeated, its strength dissolves, it yields to its captor, and melts. Yet what engines, think you, more effectual can art apply by hand of man, or again, what fires can it sustain by human means to rival the kilns with which Aetna is heated? Aetna, that is at all times a prolific nurse of mysterious fire, yet not such as glows with attemper’d heat as used by us, but nearer the fire of heaven, or like the flame that arms Jupiter himself. With these strong forces is combined a powerful blast of air forced out of the compressed orifices of the mountain; even as when mechanics exert themselves to match their strength against unwrought masses of iron, they stir the smelting-fires, drive out the air in the panting

AETNA

Omnia quae rerum *in* natura semina iacta,
 Seminium hoc mirum. densissima corpora saepe
 Et solido uicina tamen conpescimus igni. 540
 Non animos aeris flammis succumbere cernis?
 Lenitiam plumbi non exuit? ipsaque ferri
 Materies praedura tamen subuertitur igni.
 Spissaque suspensis fornacibus aurea saxa
 Exsudent pretium, et quaedam fortasse profundo 545
 Incomperta iacent, similique obnoxia sorte.
 Nec locus ingenio est: oculi te iudice uincunt.
 Nam lapis ille riget, praecclususque ignibus obstat,
 Si paruis torrere uelis caeloque patenti.
 Candenti pressoque agedum fornace coerce; 550
 Nec sufferre potest nec saeuum durat in hostem.
 Vincitur et soluit uires captusque liquescit.
 Quae maiora putas artem tormenta mouere
 Posse manu? quae tanta putas incendia nostris
 Sustentare opibus, *quantis* fornacibus Aetna 555
 Vritur, *arcano* numquam *non* fertilis igni?
 Sed non qui nostro feruet moderatior usu,
 Sed caelo propior, uel quali Iuppiter ipse
 Armatus flamma est. his uiribus additur ingens
 Spiritus, adstrictis elisus faucibus: ut, cum 560
 Fabriles operae rudibus contendere massis
 Festinant, ignes quatiunt follesque trementes

538 rerum in *Baehrens*: rerum *Cr Ar.* 539 Seminium *scripsi*:
 sed nimium *Cr Ar.* 542 Lenitiam *C*: Lenticem *Ar.* *r* plumbi
Cr Ar. quod seruauerunt Hildebrandt et Sudhaus: plumbum *Clericus*
et sic excerpta Pithoeana 546 sorte *C*: sorti *r Ar. Ald.* 1517:
 sortei *Munro* 547 ingenium *Cr Ar.*: ingenio *Sloan. et ed.* 1475
 548 Nam *r Helmst.*: Nec *C* preclususque *C*: percussusque *r Ar.*
 550 praessoque *r*: pressosque *C* coherce *C* 553 artem *scripsi*:
 autem *C*: aurem *r Ar.* mouere *C*: moueri *r Ar.* 555 susten-
 tari *ed. Paris.* 1507 *quantis Ald.* 1517: tantis *Cr Ar.* 556
arcano scripsi: ac sacro *C*: a sacro *r Ar.* non *ed. Par.* 1507: nec
Cr Ar.: fort. numquam haec non fertilis igni 557 nostros *f.*
 moderatus in usus *excerpta Pithoeana* 558 propiore et *Haupt* 559
 additur *C*: additus *r Helmst. Ar.* 561 opera erudibus *Cr Ar.* 562
 frementeis *excerpta Pithoeana*: tumentes *Lindenbruch*

AETNA

bellows, rouse the wind with a close-continued series of puffs.

This is the process of the work, this is how world-famed Aetna is kindled into combustion. The earth draws in forces through the holes that pierce it; *spirit* presses these into a confined space, then the fire works itself a passage through rocks of the largest size.

Man crosses seas and rushes through all that is nearest to grim forms of death, on his way to visit shrines of sumptuous glory and temples rife with the pride of human wealth¹, or to tell the tale of coffer's old as time: eagerly we unearth each lie of antique fable, and would fain visit every people of the world. At one moment our pleasure is to see the walls built round Ogygian Thebes; those walls once reared by the brothers, Zethus the man of action, Amphion the man of song [we may rear again]: it is our bliss to be admitted to an age other than our own. At one time we marvel at the rocks those duteous sons summoned with song and lyre; at another to see how from one single steam rises the fume of a divided sacrifice; at the seven chiefs, and the hero engulfed in the abyss. There the Eurotas and Lycurgus' Sparta hold us spellbound, or the troop hallowed for war, the three-hundred, their own all-sufficient host. Now again a multitude of poems give Athens to our view; we see her rejoicing that Minerva has

¹ Or, 'pompous with all that human wealth can achieve.'

AETNA

Exanimant, pressoque instigant agmine uentum.
 Haec operis forma est, sic nobilis uritur Aetna.
 Terra foraminibus uires trahit, urguet in artum 565
 Spiritus, incendi uia fit per maxima saxa.
 ✓ Magnificas laudes operosaque uisere templa
 Diuitiis hominum, aut arcas memorare uetustas,
 Traducti maria et taetris per proxima fatis
 Currimus atque auidi ueteris mendacia famae 570
 Eruimus cunctasque libet percurrere gentes.
 Nunc iuuat Ogygiis circumdata moenia Thebis
 Cernere: quae fratres, ille impiger, ille canorus

 Condere, felicesque alieno intersumus aeuo.
 Inuitata piis nunc carmine saxa lyraque, 575
 Nunc gemina ex uno fumantia sacra uapore,
 Miramur, septemque duces raptumque profundo.
 Detinet Eurotas illic et Sparta Lycurgi,
 Et sacer in bellum numerus, sua turba trecenti.
 Nunc hic Cecropiae uariis spectantur Athenae 580
 Carminibus, gaudentque soli uictrice Minerua.

563 Exanimant Cr Ar. uentrum C 564 fama Cr Ar. quod
 retinebat Hildebrandt p. 98: forma excerpta Pithoeana et sic Christ.
 Wolf: summa Scaliger sic nobilis r Ar.: ignobilis C uritur
 Ar.: utitur C 566 uia fit Baehrens: uiuit Cr Ar.: uis it
 Munro Spiritus incendi, uiuit Hildebrandt 567 laudes Cr
 Ar.: aedes Ald. 1534 Magnificos lapides Wagler uiscere C:
 uiscere r: uisere Ar. 568 arcas scripsi: sacras C: sacra r
 Ar.: siquast m. uetustas Buecheler 569 Tracti r materia Cr
 Ar.: Traducti maria de Rooy taetris Scaliger: terris Cr: terras
 de Rooy, quod recepit Munro 573 quae C: quot Helmst.:
 que et r Ar. Post 573 lacunam statuit Munro. Excidisse uidetur
 uersus huiusmodi Condiderant, longo geniti post tempore quimus.
 574 intersumus C: intersumo Helmst.: transu(0 Ar. mere r Ar.
 575 piis C: pio r Ar.: piei Munro 576 saxa Cr Ar.: sacra
 Scaliger 578 Sparta Ald. 1534: Sparsa Cr Ar. lygurgi C:
 lygurge r: licurge Ar. 579 sua C: seu r trecenti Sudhaus et
 Buecheler: recenti Cr Ar.: regenti Scaliger 580 Cycropiae C
 o
 athenae r: athene Ar.: athenis C 581 soli] sua Ar.

AETNA

conquered the right to her soil. Here it was that in days of yore Theseus the faithless forgot, as he returned home, to send on to his careworn father the message of the white sail. Thou also, star of high renown, Erigone, art one of Athens' songs, thou that desperately didst bemoan thine old man slain; Philomela wails Itys in the woods where birds are singing, and thou, Procne, her sister, art welcomed to the house-roof's shelter; Tereus, the cruel, lives an exile in the solitary fields. We marvel at Troy in embers, and Pergamon, thought of sorrow to her conquered sons, and Phrygia quenched in her own Hector's extinction: we gaze on the humble barrow where a mighty chief is entombed: here lie vanquished alike Achilles the sturdy fighter and he that avenged heroic Hector's death (Paris). Sometimes, again, Greek pictures or statues hold us tranced; now Venus' locks dripping with spray of her mother, the sea; now Medea's little sons playing at their cruel mother's feet, now the sorrowing attendants grouped round the hind's altar of substituted sacrifice, and the father veiled; now the life-like triumph of Myron's art: aye a thousand works of the handicraftsman's skill, a thousand paintings arrest our eye.

These are the sights you think you must visit, wavering between land and sea alternately. Turn now your eyes on the stupendous work of the artificer,

AETNA

Excidit hic reduci quondam tibi, perfide Theseu,
 Candida sollicito praemittere uela parenti.
 Tu quoque Athenarum carmen, tam nobile sidus
 Erigonae's, dequesta *senem*: Philomela canoris 585
Plorat Ityn siluis, et tu, soror hospita, tectis
 Acciperis, solis Tereus ferus exulat agris.
 Miramur Troiae cineres et flebile uictis
 Pergamon extinctosque suo Phrygas Hectore: paruum
 Conspicimus magni tumulum ducis: hic et Achilles 590
 Impiger et uictus magni iacet Hectoris ultor.
 Quin etiam Graiae fixos tenere tabellae
 Signaue; nunc Paphiae rorantis *matre capilli*,
 Sub truce nunc parui ludentes Colchide nati,
 Nunc tristes circa subiecta altaria ceruae, 595
 Velatusque pater; nunc gloria uiua Myronis,
 Et iam *mille* manus operum *tabulaeque morantur.*
 Haec uisenda putas terra dubiusque marique.
 Artificis naturae ingens opus aspice: nulla

584 crimen *Ald.* 1534 et sic excerpta *Pithoeana* iam *Ald.* 1534
 585 Erigone sedes uestra est phylomella (emphiloma r *Ar.*) *Cr Ar.*:
 uestras excerpta *Pithoeana*, unde correxi caedes *Peerkamp* 586
Plorat Ityn scripsi: Euocat in *Cr Ar.* *Munro sic scripsit* Tu q.
 A. c. t. n. sidus, Erigone, sedes uestra est: ph. c. En uocat
 in s. *Maass sic correxit Eratosthenic. p.* 85 Tu quoque A. crimen
 iam nobile sidus Erigone, edens questus Philomela canoras En
 uolat in siluas, et tu soror hospita lectis Acciperis 589
 extinctusque C: extinctosque r *Ar.* suo C: suos r *Helmst. Ar.*
 haectore C: hectora r *Ar.* 590 tumultum C 591 haectoris
 C 592 fixas timuere tabellas *Cr*: fixos tenere tabellae *Ald.*
 1534 593 pafiae (pafle r *Ar.*) rorantia parte camilli *Cr Ar.*:
 uidentur p, m locum mutasse, ut matre capilli fieret patre camilli,
 ut intellexit *Baehrens*: parte excerpta *Pithoeana*: rorantes patre
Haupt et *Munro*: rorantes arte *Heinsius ad Trist.* ii. 525, et sic
 ante eum *Scaliger* 594 cholchide C 595 subiectae *Ald.* 1517
 seruae ed. *Paris.* 1507, *Baehrens* 596 uiua *Cr*: uacca *Schrader*
 597 Etiam illa C: Et iam illa r *Ar.* mille *Haupt* Haec et iam
 illa *Munro* tabulaeque scripsi: tubeque r: turbae(e *Ar.*)que C *Ar.*
 moranter C: morantē r *Ar.* 598 terra C: terrae r *Ar.*:
 terra dubiusque marique *Munro*: marisque *Cr Ar.*: terrae d.
 marisque ed. 1475: H. u. putans terra ruis usque marique *Baehrens*
 599 natura C

AETNA

Nature : nowhere shall you see sight so marvellous in the crowded world of men ; most of all, if you keep sleepless watch, when Sirius burns with glowing heat. Yet the mountain has a strange attendant legend of its own : a pious fire to give fame equal to its guilt. In times of yore Aetna burst open its hollows and glowed with a white heat ; as if its kilns were wrecked to their centre, a wave-like volume of fire was borne up by the strong heats of the stone and carried to a long distance ; even as when the ether flashes with the fury of Jupiter and whirls on the bright sky blackened with gloom. The corn-crops blazed in the fields, farm lands waving with cultivation and their owners with them ; forests and hills were in a ruddy glow. Scarce yet have they begun to think the enemy was on the march, and they were already trembling at his approach ; already he had cleared the gates of the adjoining city. Then did each, with such will and strength as he possessed for foraging, struggle to guard his property ; one is groaning under a weight of gold, another is getting his arms together, and setting them once more about his foolish neck ; another too weak to carry what he has snatched up loiters to save his poems ; here a penniless man hurries nimbly along under the lightest of weights ; each as he has anything precious shoulders it himself and flies with his burden. Think not, however, the spoil followed its several masters undamaged : the fire swallows them as they loiter, and environs the covetous horde with its flames. When they believe they have put it to rout, it pursues them still, overpowers and then burns them with their

AETNA

Tu tanta humanae plebis spectacula cernes, 600
 Praecipueque uigil feruens ubi Sirius ardet.
 Insequitur miranda tamen sua fabula montem,
 Nec minus ille pio quam sons, tam nobilis ignist.
 Nam quondam ruptis excanduit Aetna cauernis,
 Et uelut euersis penitus fornacibus ingens 605
 Euecta in longum lapidis feruoribus unda.
 Haud aliter quam cum saeuo Ioue fulgurat aether,
 Et nitidum obscura caelum caligine torquet.
 Ardebant agris segetes et mollia cultu
 Iugera cum dominis, siluae collesque rubebant. 610
 Vixdum castra putant hostem mouisse, tremebant,
 Et iam finitimae portas euaserat urbis.
 Tum uero ut cuique est animus uiresque rapinae,
 Tutari conantur opes. gemit ille sub auro,
 Colligit ille arma et stulta ceruice reponit, 615
 Defectum raptis illum (sua carmina) tardant,
 Hic uelox minimo properat sub pondere pauper,
 Et quod cuique fuit cari, fugit ipse sub illo.
 Sed non incolumis dominum sua praeda secuta est;
 Cunctantis uorat ignis et undique torret auaros, 620
 Consequiturque fugasse ratis et praemia captis

600 Tu *Clericus*: Cum *Cr Ar.* humanis *Cr Ar.*: humanae *scripsi*
 plebis *scripsi* ex plebeis quod est in *Rehd.* 60: phoebeus *Cr ed.* 1475:
 phebus *Ar.*: rebus *Ald.* 1534 uulgo 601 syrius *Cr* ardet *C*:
 ardens *r Ar.*: rupes ubi Trinacris ardet *Baehrens*: iugis feruens
 ubi Sicanis arx est *ego olim* 603 quamquam sors nobilis ignis
Cr Ar. ignist *Munro*: quamquam sons *C. Barth.*: quam qui sons
Sauppe: quam quo sons *Baehrens*: quam sons, tam nobilis ignist
scripsi 605 ignes *Cr Ar.*: ignis *Ald.* 1534, *Clericus*: ingens *Scaliger*
 606 in longumst *Munro* lapidis *C*: rapidis *r Ar.* 608 telum
Postgate torpet *Scaliger*, et sic excerpta *Pithoeana* 609 mollia
Scaliger: millia *Cr*: millia *Ar.*: mitia *Heinsius* 610 cum domi-
 bus *r* rubebant *Munro*: urebant *C*: uirebant *r*: uirentes *Itali*
 611 nouisse *C*: mouisse *r* tremendum excerpta *Pithoeana*, *Iacob*
 613 uirescera pinae *C*: uires animusque rapinae *r Ar.*: rapinis *Helmst.*
 615 summa excerpta *Pithoeana* 616 sua sarcina tardat *Iacob*
 617 minimo *Dorat*, et sic excerpta *Pithoeana*: nimio *Cr Ar.* 618
 quod cumque *r Ar.* 621 Consequiturque *C*: Consequitur (-que

AETNA

plunder. This is a conflagration which pastures at will, resolved if it spare any, to spare the pious alone. Two noble children, Amphinomus and his brother, resolute to brave the same duty, when the fire was already crackling in the adjoining roof, saw how their halting father and their mother following behind him had dropped in woeful weariness on the threshold. Cease now, ye covetous horde, to lift your precious loads of spoil! *These* know no riches but their parents only; this is the spoil they will snatch from the flame. And see they hurry to escape through environing fire, their safety guaranteed by the fire itself. O greatest of possessions, rightly held safest of virtues to humanity, religion! The flames blushed to touch those duteous sons and, wherever they moved, gave way. Happy that time, sinless is that region. On their right the cruel fires continue, glow hotly on their left. He meanwhile (is guiding) his brother in triumph through a slanting path of flame. . . . (*lacuna*) each alike safe beneath his pious load.

AETNA

Concremat, *haec* nullis *parsura* incendia pascunt
 Vel solis *parsura pieis*. namque optima proles
 Amphinomus fraterque pari sub munere fortes,
 Cum iam uicinis streperent incendia tectis, 625
 Aspiciunt pigrumque patrem matremque *sequentem*
 Eheu defessos posuisse *in* limine membra.
 Parcite, auara manus, duces attollere praedas,
 Illis diuitiae solae materque paterque,
 Hanc rapiunt praedam. mediumque exire per ignem 630
 Ipso dante fidem properant. o maxima rerum
 Et merito pietas homini tutissima uirtus!
 Erubuere pios iuuenes attingere flammae,
 Et quacumque ferunt illi uestigia, cedunt.
 Felix illa dies, illa est innoxia terra. 635
 Dextra saeua tenent, laeuaque incendia feruent:
 Ille per obliquos ignis fratremque triumphans

Tutus uterque pio sub pondere: sustinet illa

om. r *Ar* fugisse *Cr Ar*: fugasse *scripsi*: nam dum ignem sustinent, fugant. *Ouid. M. xiii. 7, 8* flammis Quas ego sustinui, quas hac a classe fugauit: ratis fugisse *Buecheler*: ratis *C r Ar. quod cum Munrone retinui* 622 Concremat *Dorat, et sic excerpta Pithoeana* Concrepat *Cr Ar*: haec de *Serionne ed. 1736 et Munro*: ac *C*: et *r Ar*: ah *excerpta Pithoeana* nulli sparsura *Cr* 623 sparsura *Cr* pieis *Munro*: piis *Ald. 1517*: Piis *Sudhaus*: dees *C om. r Ar*: deis *ed. 1475* 624 Amphinomus *r Ar. Ald. 1534*: Amphion *C quod seruandum censet Buecheler*: Amphionus *excerpta Pithoeana* fortes *ed. 1475*: fontis *C*: sortis *r et excerpta Pithoeana* 625 incinis *C* 626 sequentem *scripsi*: senemque *Cr*: senentem *Baehrens* 627 Eheu *C*: Seu iam *r Ar. fort.* Ceu iam: Aeuo *excerpta Pithoeana* defessos *C*: defesso *r Ar.* posuisse in *Scaliger*: pos(poss. r)uissent

Cr Ar. 628 manus dulces *scripsi*: manduces *C*: manu dicens *r Ar*: manus dites *Ald. 1517* attoll(tol r)ite *Helmst. r* 629 diuitiae *r Ar*: diuine *C* 630 rapiunt *scripsi*: rapies *Cr*: raperest

Munro 631 maxime *C quod uidetur esse maxime in maxima correctum* 633 flammae *r Ar*: flamma *C* 634 quaecumque *C*

636 Dextera *Cr* tenet *C*: tenent *r* ferunt *C*: ferunt *Ar*: fertur *Buecheler cum sequentibus coniungens* 637 fratremque *Cr*: fraterque *ed. Paris. 1507* triumphant *Clericus. Post hunc u. lacunam indicauit Munro* 638 sustitit *scripsi*: substitit *Baehrens*: sufficit *Cr Ar.* illa *C*: illam *r Ar*: suffugit illac *Clericus*

AETNA

There the devouring fire has halted and checks its
fury round the twain. Unharm'd they leave the
ground at last, carrying with them their gods rescued.
For them is the homage of bards and poesy: to
them Ditis has assigned a place apart with the
accompaniment of a glorious name. Nor deem that
any vulgar fate touches those hallowed youths: their
lot is a home beyond the reach of sorrow, with all
that the pious claim.

AETNA

Et circa geminos avidus sibi temperat ignis.
 Incolumes abeunt tandem et sua numina secum 640
 Salua ferunt. illos mirantur carmina uatum,
 Illos seposuit claro sub nomine Ditis,
 Nec sanctos iuuenes attingunt sordida fata,
 Securae cessere domus et iura piorum.

639 gemines C ignes C Ar. 642 Illos Scaliger et excerpta
Pithoeana : Illo C : Ille r Ar. se posuit Cr Ar. dictis r 643
 fata r : facta C 644 Securae Munro : Sed curae C : Sed iure r :
 Sed purae excerpta *Pithoeana*, Haupt iura Cr Ar. : iura Heinsius
 et excerpta *Pithoeana* PUBLII VIRGILII MARONIS AETHNA FINIT C

COMMENTARY.

- 5 *Seu te Cynthos habet seu delos gratior ila*
 Seu tibi dodona potior. C.

Munro's emendation of these vv.

Seu te Cynthos habet seu delost gratior Hyla
Seu tibi *Ladonis* potior,

is supported (1) by the form *ila* of *C*, which is not likely to be merely a mis-spelling of *illa*; (2) by the absence of any well-established connexion between Apollo and *Dodona*; (3) by the natural consecution of *two* Oriental shrines of Apollo, *Hyle* in Cyprus, *Daphne* near Antioch.

But may not *Dodona* be abl.? So Bormans thought, writing *Ac tibi Dodona potior*, 'and preferred by thee to Jove's own inspired Dodona.' Statius, *Theb.* viii. 195 sqq., after mentioning Delphi, Tenedos, Chryse, Delos, Branchidae, Claros, Didymi, goes on to add the shrines of Ammon in Libya, Jupiter at Dodona, Apollo at Thymbra. But the introduction of two shrines of Jupiter among those of Apollo is there intelligible: every famed *μῆρτίον* will be silent for anguish at the loss of Apollo's seer. Cf. *Theb.* iii. 107, 8. In *Aetn.* 5, 6 such a reference to non-Apollinean *μῆρτία* would be out of place and confusing.

Possibly *dodona* is a corruption of *colofona*.

Colophon and the adjoining grove of the Clarian Apollo are constantly mentioned among the most famous seats of the god's worship. Strab. 642. Plin. H. N. ii. 232 *Colophone in Apollinis Clarii specu lacuna est cuius potu mira redduntur oracula*. It was visited by Germanicus, Tac. Ann. ii. 54 *adpellitque Colophona ut Clarii Apollinis oraculo uteretur. non femina*

AETNA

illic ut apud Delphos, sed certis e familiis et ferme Mileto accitus sacerdos numerum modo consultantium et nomina audit: tum in specum degressus, hausta fontis arcani aqua, ignarus plerumque litterarum et carminum, edit responsa uersibus compositis super rebus quas quis mente concepit.

Colofona might be nomin., like *Ancona*, *Verona*, *Crotona*, *Sidona*, *Chalcedona*, *Eleusina*, *Salamina* (Neue-Wagener Formenlehre, i. 325), or accus.; then for *tibi* write *subis*.

Seu Colophona subis potior,

‘or hast a more surpassing divination in approaching thy shrine at Colophon.’

13-15

mellaque lentis

f. 82v. 17.

18

Penderent foliis et pingui pallas oliuae

Securos amnes ageret.

So CS. The simplest correction is to write *pinguis* (Bormans), a genitive after *amnes*. Though *amnis* is often corrupted to *omnis*, it is hazardous to alter *amnes* to *omnes*, the expressive and perfectly intelligible word, to one with little or no meaning.

20

sparsumue in semine dentem.

This use of *in* is not uncommon in contrasts between reality and appearance: Livy xxvi. 43. 3 is a typical case, *in una urbe uniuersam ceperitis Hispaniam*, i.e. you might think it a single city, but it is really all Spain. So here the sense is ‘you might think what was scattered to be *seed*, but it was really *dragon's teeth*.’ Postgate, *Class. Rev.* xiv. 420.

21-23

Quis non periurae doluit mendacia puppis,

Desertam uacuo Minoida litore questus?

S et

Quicquid in antiquum iactata est fabula carmen. C.

Quicquid et in S iactata CS iam nacta Baehrens.

The *S* et written in *C* over *Quicquid* means, I think, *scilicet* et, i.e. an intimation to the reader that he is to supply *et* before *Quicquid*. Such grammatical or explanatory notes are frequent in MSS. But the v.l. in *S* *Quicquid et in* shows that in the archetype *et* was written in some way which was doubtful; the scribe of *S* has taken it into the text of the v., making an unrhythmical line. If to *C*, as the earlier and more trustworthy

COMMENTARY

MS., we assign a superior weight, we shall accept *in* rather than *et*; and it seems translatable, constructing *Quicquid* (or, as with Lachmann I prefer to write it, *Quidquid*) with *iactata est* on the analogy of Liv. vii. 32. 6 *quidquid ab urbe longius proferrent arma*; xxxi. 1. 5 *iam provideo animo quidquid progredior in uastiores me altitudinem prouehi*; xxxiv. 62. 12 *quidquid Bursam sedem suam excesserint*; Luc. iii. 294 *Quidquid ab occiduis Libye patet arida Mauris*; Claud. in Eutrop. i. 196 *quidquid se Tigris ab Haemo diuidit*; see Heinsius on Claud. de Mall. Theod. Cons. 56. On this view *quidquid iactata est* expresses the *manifold* forms which the legends of Greece had assumed in their poetry: 'the countless variations of legend thrown into antique song.'

I would, however, suggest that *in* may be a mistake for *id*,

Quidquid *id* antiquum, iactata est fabula, carmen
'whatever the particular song of the past, the legend is now well-worn,' i. e. every one of the ancient myths has been used by some poet and has become trite and hackneyed. On this view, which (except *id*) is Sudhaus', 'Kurz, all die alten Lieder sind ein verbrauchter Stoff,' *iactata* refers to the frequency with which the Greek myths had been used as matter for poetry, bandied about and passing from hand to hand as public property. For *quidquid id*, *quisquis is*, cf. my note Noct. Manil. p. 188, and to the passages cited there add Lucr. iii. 135, Verg. Aen. ii. 49, Stat. S. i. 6. 49, Nem. Cyn. 219 *Quidquid id est*.

Munro, however, thought 23 a conflation of *two* verses:

Quidquid in antiqu[o] narratur tempore gestum (or, gestum
est memorabile saeclo)

Omnis per uari]um iactata est fabula carmen.

25, 26 Quae tanto moles operi, quae tanta perenni

Explicit in densum flammis. C.

quae tanta CS	qis tanta <i>Rehd.</i>	uis quanta <i>the present</i>
<i>editor</i>	quae causa perennis <i>Sloan 777</i>	26 in denso
C. A. Schmid.		

The second *quae* has no noun following it in CS: some of the fifteenth century MSS. give *causa* for *tanta* and *perennis*. This is not improbable in itself; but there are other possibilities.

AETNA

I have followed a suggestion of *Rehd.* and suppose that *quamuis tanta* is a corruption of *uis tanta*^{quan}. Claudian Rapt. Pros. i. 170 *quae tanta cauernas Vis glomeret*. Markland's *immensum* for *in densum* would be unusual: preferable is Schmid's *in denso*, forming an effective antithesis to *Explicit*; the fires inside Aetna are pent in a close body, which requires an unusual force to liberate and expand them.

28 *Ignibus irriguis*, 'ces flots de lave brûlante' Chenu.

36 *facies haec altera uatum*. Two classes of poets seem to be meant, those who ascribe the marvels of nature to a divine power working in them, those who turn such marvels into mythological legends (Scaliger).

haec altera. Flor. iii. 1. 9 *haec altera contra regem causa belli fuit*.

38 Henry, *Aeneidea*, vol. iii. p. 724 (on *Aen.* viii. 753 IN NVMERVM), explains *numerosa* of the measured or rhythmical time of the strokes, one party striking all at once, and another party all at once, and alternately with the former.

51-53 *Impius et miles metuentia cōminus astra*

Prouocat infestus cunctos ad proelia diuos

Prouocat admotisque tertia sidera signis. CS.

Bormans¹ suggested *admotis qua tertia sidera signis*, explaining of the third class of stars occupying the highest empyrean, as Manil. v fin. speaks of *orders* of stars, *Sunt stellae procerum similes sunt proxima primis Sidera, suntque gradus atque omnia ficta priorum*. See my *Noct. Manil.* p. 210. Without such specializing of the sense of *tertia*, the poet of *Aetna* might simply mean that the giants carried the attack to the extremest part of the sky, where the hindmost stars were ranged.

The passage is at best strangely tautologous. What can be weaker than the twice repeated *Prouocat*? But we need not, *in cumulum κακοτεχνίας*, add another repetition *ad territa* (Wassenberg and Haupt) or *tremencia* (Munro), when, as Baehrens well says, 'talis notio post *metuentia astra* plane

¹ Bormans also conj. *admotisque tremencia* (so after him Munro), but rejected it in favour of the other conj.

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superflua sit.' Yet Baehrens' own *qua peruia* is hardly probable. I suspect a deeper-seated corruption: *tertia* is *iertia*, *que* perhaps for *per*.

[Sudhaus conj. *admotisque terit* (or *ferit*) *iam s. s.*, a very rare rhythm in our poem.]

56-58

Incursant uasto primum clamore gigantes

Hic magno tonat ore pater geminantque fauentes

Vndique discordes comitum simul agmine uenti. CS.

57 founte the *Helmstadt MS*, whence *Wernsdorf conj.* fauente and so *Alzinger*.

58 discordei *Munro* sonitum *Jacob* for comitum.

It is not easy to choose between *fauentes*—*discordei*, *fauente*—*discordes*. The *Helmstadt* codex is not, in itself, of much weight: but *discordes uenti* looks like a reminiscence of Aen. x. 356 *magno discordes aethere uenti*, and it is safer to retain it unaltered. But I cannot agree with Hildebrandt (*Philologus* for 1897, p. 101) in admitting *comitum* to be genuine, though *comitum agmine*=ἀκολούθων ὄχλῳ might be explained of the other attendants of wind and storm—rain, hail, thunder, lightning, &c.¹ The real determining point is *geminant*. This does not stand on the same footing with *ingeminare* (which is often constructed absolutely as a neuter verb), but requires an accus., e. g. Luc. vii. 480 *Excepit resonis clamorem uallibus Haemus Peliacisque dedit rursus geminare cauernis*; Stat. Theb. vi. 765 *geminatque rotas Multiplicatque manus*. This accus. can hardly be *fremitum* (Wakefield): *sonitum* is very near the letters and look of *comitum*, and since Jacob suggested it has found large acceptance, e. g. with Haupt, Munro, Alzinger.

61-64 iam patri dextera pallas.

Et mars saeuus erat, iam caetera turba deorum

Stant utrimque; dē ualidos tum iuppiter ignis^{acc}

Increpat. et uicto proturbat flumine montes; C.

62 laeuus *Bormans* 63 dē C: de . . S: deus *Rehd.*: secus

Wernsdorf explained *comitum* of the other winds: but surely *uenti* implies the collective body.

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Haupt: tuens *Baehrens*: ut cuique decus *Unger* 64 uictor *Rehd.*, and so *Munro*: stricto *Birt*: perhaps moto.

Haupt's *utrimque secus* is plausible, as these passages will show: *Lucilius* ap. *Non.* 210 *Zopyrion labeas caedit utrimque secus*; *Cato R.R.* 21.3 *dextra sinistra foramina utrimque secus lamminas sub lamminas . . supponito*; and again 21.4 *pertusum utrimque secus*. In this passage *utrimque secus* refers to *dextra sinistra* as in the v. of *Aetna*. *Lucr.* iv. 939 *utrimque secus cum corpus uapulet*.

Secus would have its full significance: the rest of the gods stand round on the right and left respectively. But it is lengthy and prosaic, and ill suits the high-pitched language of *Aetna*: again, if the word concealed by *d̄s* in *C* was an integral part of a whole *utrimque secus*, its separation, not by a full point but by the sign; is at least strange. Following in the steps of *Baehrens* I trace in *d̄s* (*deus*) the remains of a nom. participle, perhaps *uerens*; of this the two first letters might fall out after *-que* leaving *-rens*, which at some stage of the transmission, possibly written in a difficult Merovingian hand, would become *deus*. I had also thought of *ciens* to be constructed with *ignis*; but rhythm is against this.

iacto is first found in the Paris ed. of 1507 (by *Badius Ascensius*). *Haupt* prints it in his small *Vergil* (1873), but it cannot be thought certain, owing to the doubt in 65 between *deuictae*, *deuectae*, *deiectae*. MSS. there are in favour of *deuictae* rather than *deiectae* (*Peerlkamp*) or *deuectae*: the latter is too weak a word for the utter rout of the giants. Retaining then in 65 *deuictae* of *C* (to which *deuinctae* of *S* also points), I incline to *iacto* in 64 as the easiest emendation of *uicto*. But *moto* might also pass into *uicto*, just as *uidet* in 336 looks like a misreading of *mouet*. *moto fulmine* (*flumine C* absurdly, as *flumina* for *fulmina* in 59) = 'setting in motion,' 'launching' his bolt. *Claud. Ruf.* i. 262 *Mouit tela*.

66-70

atque impius hostis

Praeceptis cum castris agitur materque iacentis

Impellens uictos. tum pax est reddita mundo

Tum liber cessat uenit per sidera celum

Defensioque decus mundi nunc redditur astris. *C.*

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67 Praeceptis *S* mateque *S* 68 For Impellens the margin of *Pithou's Epigrammata et Poematia uetera* 1590 gives *Amplexa est, and so Haupt* 69 cessat *CS*: celsa *Rehd.*: cela *v*: cessata the present editor, and so Unger and Hildebrandt.

Impellens Munro translates 'rallying,' and so Sudhaus 'still urging on.' And before them Chenu 'qui cherche à ranimer ses fils.vaincus.' Possibly however Earth is supposed to urge her prostrate children not to return to the fight, but to escape complete destruction by flight: or, in another and common sense of the word (e.g. Cluent. xxvi. 70 *praecipitantem impellamus*, 'let us push him over'), Mother Earth, seeing her sons ready to tumble headlong, gives them a push to expedite their fall.

In 69 Peerlkamp saw that *liber* is the god Bacchus: 'Bacchi multa uirtus fuit in hoc proelio qui Rhoetum retorsit *leonis Vnguibus horribilique mala*' (Hor. C. ii. 19. 24); and if so, it almost follows that *cessata* should be restored for *cessat* of *CS*: 'Liber comes forward amid the stars whose warfare is over,' a natural sign of triumph on the part of the god to whom the victory was due. This participle is found in 383 *Si cessata diu referunt spectacula uenti*.

71-73

morientem Iuppiter Aethna

Obruit enceladon uastoque pondere montis

Aestuat et petula insé expirat faucibus ignem. *C*.

72 enceladon *CS* que *CS*: qui *Rehd.* 73 petula inse *S*: petulans *Rehd. and v*: patulis *Ald.* expirat *S*.

morientem in the death struggle. Philostr. Imagin. ii. 17. 5 ἡ γραφή δὲ τὰ τῶν ποιητῶν ἐπαινοῦσα καὶ μῦθον τῇ νήσῳ ἐπιγράφει· γίγαντα μὲν βεβλήσθαι ποτε ἐνταῦθα, δυσθανατοῦντι δ' αὐτῷ τὴν νῆσον ἐπενεχθῆναι δεσμοῦ ἕνεκεν, εἴκειν δὲ μήπω αὐτόν, ἀλλ' ἀναμάχεσθαι ὑπὸ τῇ γῇ ὄντα, καὶ τὸ πῦρ τοῦτο σὺν ἀπειλῇ ἐκπνέιν.

The Greek accus. *Enceladon* is found also in the *Francofur-tanus* of Ov. Am. iii. 12. 27 (Riese).

petulans, for which Haupt strangely preferred *patulis* of *Ald.*, is not, as Sudh. thought, a mere equivalent of *ferox* (Met. v. 353) or *trux* (Val. Fl. ii. 30); it is far more distinctive, as its frequent combination with *furiosus*, *audax*, *furor*, *audacia*, and even *insanus* shows. Cic. Brut. lxviii. 241 *feruido quodam et petulanti et furioso genere dicendi*; de Orat. ii. 75. 305 *petulans*.

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aut plane insanus; in Pis. xiv. 31 *abieci hominis furorem petulantiamque*; Claud. Deprec. in Alethium 7 *Nulla meos traxit petulans audacia sensus*. Here it refers to the defiant or contumelious character of Enceladus, which survived his confinement under Aetna. See Duff on Juv. iii. 278 *Ebrius ac petulans*. Badius Ascensius' explanation of *petulans* as referring to the *uncontrolled movements* of the restless giant is less probable; nor is it merely 'fretful.'

74 *mendosae*, 'blundering.' Brut. xvi. 62 *His laudationibus historia rerum nostrarum facta est mendosior*, 'more faulty.'

76 *rerum fallacia*, things shown in a deceptive and wrong light, according to the fancy of the poet. *scaenae* cannot be taken with *rerum* as if the sense were 'most stage shows' (most of the scenes exhibited on the stage) are delusions. Postgate's *scaena et rerum fallacia* is clever, but *Plurima pars* requires some genitive, and the elision at the end of the second foot is faulty.

77 *uiderunt* is not beyond suspicion, though neither *finxerunt* (Bormans, Unger) nor *uicerunt* (Munro) nor *luserunt* (Baehrens¹) is more than a possible emendation. 'The poet's eye' has become familiar to us from Shakespeare: but the idea was not so common in antiquity. Lucretius, however, lends himself to this conception in such passages as v. 148 *Tenuis enim natura deum longeque remota Sensibus ab nostris animi uix mente uidetur*; 183 *Quid uellent facere ut scirent animoque uiderent?* [Perhaps *adierunt*.]

78, 79 *Atque inter cineres ditis pallentia regna*

Mentiti uates stygias undasque canentes. C.

79 is perhaps spurious: for *uates* is an inane tautology, *-que* in a doubtful position, *canentes* utterly feeble. If not spurious, it is entirely vitiated. Scaliger changed *canentes* to *canesque*, and Peerlkamp supports this by Luc. vi. 733 *Stygiasque canes in luce superna Destituam*, where the Bern. Schol. edited by

¹ Cf. Sen. ad Marc. de Consol. xix. 4 *luserunt ista poetae et uanis nos agitantere terroribus*. Minuc. Oct. xi. fin. *omnia ista figmenta male sanae opinionis et inepta solacia a poetis fallacibus in dulcedinem carminis lusa*.

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Usener note, *canes Furias dixit. Virgilius 'uisaeque canes ululare per umbram,' apud inferos enim furiae dicuntur, apud superos canes, in caelo dirae*: cf. Serv. on Aen. iii. 209, cited by Usener, '*Apud inferos furiae dicuntur et canes, apud superos dirae et aues.*' The two passages, discordant otherwise, agree in stating that the Furies were called Hounds. Or, Cerberus and the other hound of hell, Orthrus or Orthus (Sil. xiii. 845), might be meant.

K. Schenkl suggested *Mentitque rates Stygias undasque calentes*, in which the burning waters describe *Phlegethon* (Aen. vi. 551). Sen. ad Marc. xix. 4 *Nullas imminere mortuis tenebras nec carcerem nec flumina igne flagrantia nec Oblivionem amnem nec tribunalia et reos* (Minos, tuaque Aeace in umbris Iura canunt).

Retaining *calentes*, I would suggest *ualles* for *uates*, cf. Met. vi. 662 *Vipereasque ciet Stygia de ualle sorores*; x. 51 *Auernas Exierit ualles*; Ib. 77, 8 *Quique per infernas horrendo murmure ualles Inperiuratae laberis amnis aquae*: sc. Styx.

80-82. Hii tityon poena strauere in iugera foedum
Sollicitant illi te circum tantale poena
Sollicitantque siti. C.

80 *perhaps* quina fetum Unger 81 *probably* cena
(*Baehrens*).

A most difficult passage. 80 cries aloud for some epithet to *iugera*. I can suggest nothing better than *quina*, supposing that the author of *Aetna* did not bind himself by Lucretius and Vergil, who (iii. 988 *nouem dispessis iugera membris Optineat*; Aen. vi. 595 *per tota nouem cui iugera corpus Porrigitur*) translate Homer's ἐν' ἐνεία κείτο πέλεθρα by *nouem iugera*, in which they are followed by Tibullus i. 3. 76, Ovid, M. iv. 457, Ib. 183, and Hygin. Fab. 55. If a πλέθρον practically was about half a Roman iuger, nine plethra might correspond roughly to five iugers¹. Haupt's conjecture, *strauere nouena* for *poena*

¹ Columella v. 1. 5 makes the *actus quadratus* = 120 × 120 feet = 14,400, the *iuger* twice this = 28,800. Now the *actus quadratus* or *semiugerum* was also called *arepennis* (Colum. v. 1. 6). With this *arepennis* the πλέθρον was sometimes identified, see Götz, *Corpus Glossariorum*, i. p. 100, and the authorities cited by Schneider in his

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strauere has little to recommend it: *septem*¹, which is found in some fifteenth century MSS. and in the Paris ed. of 1507, is without authority. It is probable from Prop. iii. 5. 44 *et Tityo iugera pauca nouem* that it was a nice question with the pedants of the time what was the space of ground in the lower world that Tityus' limbs covered. Cf. Sen. de breuit. uitae xiii; Suet. Tib. 70.

It may be urged in defence of *poena*, that it is the *punishment* of Tityus' lust which is generally brought into relief when his story is mentioned. So Lucretius iii. 990, 1 *Non tamen aeternum poterit perferre dolorem Nec praebere cibum proprio de corpore semper*; Verg. Aen. vi. 598 *fecundaque poenis Viscera*; Prop. ii. 20. 31 *Atque inter uolucres Tityi mea poena uagetur*; Ov. Pont. i. 2. 38-40 *Et grauior longa fit mea poena mora. Sic in-consumptum Tityi semperque renascens Non perit, ut possit saepe perire, iecur*. With this *foedum* is constructed 'ghastly with his punishment,' in reference to the hideous sight of the vultures tearing and devouring his liver incessantly; cf. Stat. Theb. xi. 13 *ipsae horrent si quando pectore ab alto Emergunt uolucres, immensaque membra iacentis Spectant dum miserae crescunt in pabula fibrae*.

in iugera can hardly mean, as Sudhaus suggests, 'over whole acres of ground' in opposition to an implied smaller space; nor even over the acres of ground described by the poets from Homer onwards, and become familiar through them. In this case we should look for *in sua iugera*: but either view is unsatisfactory.

In 81 I have little doubt that *circum* of MSS. is right. Le Clerc cites the description in Od. xi. 582-592, where the waters and fruits are all *about* Tantalus, but never near enough to be grasped; and Tib. i. 3. 77 *Tantalus est illic et circum stagna, sed acrem Iam iam poturi deserit unda sitim*: similarly Baehrens'

note on Col. v. 1. Hence 9 plethra = 14,400 feet $\times$ 9 = 129,600; 5 iugers = 28,800 $\times$ 5 = 144,000. Thus (roughly) 130,000 feet (9 plethra or half-iugers) would be not far from 144,000 (roughly 140,000) or 5 iugers.

¹ *septem* looks like a reminiscence of Il. xxi. 407 $\epsilon\pi\tau\acute{\alpha}\ \delta'\ \epsilon\pi\acute{\iota}\sigma\chi\epsilon\ \pi\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\epsilon\theta\alpha\ \pi\epsilon\sigma\acute{\omega}\nu$, said of Ares.

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cena for *poena* is simple and good, corresponding to *siti* in 83, Luc. Tim. 18 ὥστερ ὁ Τάνταλος ἀποτοὶ καὶ ἄγευστοι.

84 Quidquid et interius falsi sibi conscia terrent. CS.

sibi conscia CSv: consortia Rehd. Arund. terrent CSr: terra v.

The older correctors changed *terrent* to *terra est*, and this is perhaps the simplest view, if we suppose *Quidquid falsi interius* to depend on *conscia*, 'as well as every inner lie whereof Earth is conscious.' So Fronto, p. 235, Naber, *quae mihi conscius sum protestabor*. Then cf. the Plautine *gnaruris uos uolo esse hanc rem* Most. i. 2. 17, where Sonnenschein quotes from an epigram of Pacuvius (A. Gell. i. 24) *hoc uolebam nescius ne esses*. But such a construction is hardly probable in the Latin of *Aetna*.

Munro thought a verse had fallen out beginning perhaps with *Pectora*; he changed *terrent* to *terret*: this is also the view of Buecheler. But if the breasts are conscious of falsehood, why should they be alarmed? It would be their conviction of the *truth* of such stories which would frighten them.

The variant found in Rehd. *consortia* may well be right. Velleius has *consors uitiorum*, Ovid *c. culpae: consortium falsi* would naturally enough express a partnership in falsification or forgery: *terrent* I change to *adhaerent*. Whether *interius* or *infernist* be read, the sense is the same: 'whatever is done in the bowels of the earth (or, whatever is part of the world below); some association of falsehood clings to it,' i. e. is inseparable from it.

96 Non totum et solido desunt namque omnis hiatu

Secta est omnis humus. CS.

solidum Rehd. desinit Helmst. and v: deficit Sloan. 777 and some other MSS. of late fifteenth cent. hiatus Rehd.

et solido must be, I think, *ex solido*: see my *Noctes Manilianae* p. 4. For *desunt* Vollmer has suggested *densum est*¹, Birt *densum*, with the same meaning. But *namque omnis hiatu Secta est omnis humus* is all but impossible: the double *omnis* requires a verb in *both* clauses, and the effect, if such verb is absent, is overstrained and almost ridiculous. The fifteenth century correction

¹ Reading *Non totum et solido densum est*.

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defit is, as diction, not very good. I suspect a deeper vitiation. *desunt* is perhaps the conflation of two originally distinct words *est ducit*: in the archetype *ducit* had become *dunt*. (Cf. *lances* for *latices* Manil. ii. 9, where the *Matritensis* gives *latites*.) The original v. would thus be

Non totum *ex solido est*: *ducit* namque omnis hiatum,
Secta est omnis humus.

hiatum ducit falls into chasms, like *ducere cicatricem, situm, colorem*.

98-101

animanti

Per tota errantes percurrunt corpora uenae
Aduitam sanguis omnis qua cum meat idem
Terra uoraginibus conceptas digerit auras. CS.

100 comeat *Rehd.* isdem *Le Clerc and Conr. Schmid, constructed with* uoraginibus. *Perhaps* eidem.

idem of CS, which has little meaning, I would alter to the dative *eidem*, like the abl. *eadem* Lucr. ii. 663, vi. 961, *eadem* i. 480, iv. 744, 786, 959 (abl. fem.), *eadem* i. 306. It is true, Cartault (*La Flexion dans Lucrèce*, p. 67) shows that the dative *eidem*, like the acc. plur. *eosdem, easdem*, the gen. plur. *eorundem, earundem*, and the dat. and abl. plur. *isdem*, is not found in the MSS. of Lucretius: but *isdem*, the correction of Lambinus for *idem* in ii. 693, of Pius in v. 349, is accepted by Munro and most editors except Lachmann: and the poet of *Aetna* might follow the Lucretian tendency to disyllabize these forms without binding himself by his particular exceptions. Catullus has *ei*, lxxxii. 3. Manilius iii. 73 has *pars semper ut eidem Confinis parti* where Bechert's three MSS. LCF give *idem*, G *eidem*. *Omnis, eidem* correspond: 'all the blood passes to and fro to sustain the life of the same one being.' With *ad uitam*, 'for the support of life,' cf. Sen. ad Marc. xviii. 5 *ad uitam fructus seges et arbusta*.

102-117. The explanations of the cavernous and unsolid fabric of the Earth commencing with *Scilicet aut* are not continued till 110 *siue illi*, followed by *seu* 112, *aut etiam* 114, *siue omnia* 115; the poet, wishing to illustrate his first explanation, introduces the simile of a heap of stones, and this interruption occasions

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a seeming anacoluthon (Hildebrandt, *Philologus* for 1897, p. 117), intelligible enough, but unlike the usual style of *Aetna*.

If any correction is required, it would be easy to change *aut* into *ante*. The combination *ante olim*, 'in some longpast time,' would be justified by the similarly defining ablatives with *ante*, *anno*, *quinquennio*, *sex annis*, *non longis temporibus ante* (de Rep. ii. 59), or adverbs *iam ante*, *saepe*, *saepius*, *semper antea*, all in Cicero¹. If *ante olim* is right, there is no pause after *sidera*, as if *sors data* began a new sentence: the construction is *Scilicet, diuiso ante olim c. m. in maria ac t. et sidera, sors prima data (est) caelo*.

105 sqq.

et qualis aceruus

Exilit inparibus iactis extempore saxis

Vt crebrier introrsus spatio uacat acta charibdis

Pendeat insésé simili quoque terra futurae

In tenuis laxata uias non omnes in artum

Nec stipata coit. C.

107 crebor S introrsus S uacatacta S: uacuata ed.

Paris 1507: uacuante Wernsdorf: uacefacta Buecheler^h carims^h

(or carinis) S: carambos v: in Rehd. the words following spatio are omitted 108 futurae S Rehd.: figura Sloan.,

perhaps similis . . . figurae 109 omnis Rehd.

crebrier of C, *crebor* of S, are no doubt strange as a corruption of *crebro*, yet the one alternative which suggests itself *crebre* (Vitruvius) has no probability, and we must suppose that the abl., at some time before C was written, had assumed a shape in which the termination was obscured, becoming *crebor* in S, *crebrier* in C. Rehd. has here preserved the right reading, in spite of its comparative lateness: attempts like Sudhaus' to retain *creber* in agreement with *aceruus* are uncritical and futile².

¹ Terence has *olim quondam*, Eun. ii. 2. 15; Quintilian, Inst. v. 12. 17 *olim iam*. More nearly like *ante olim* is Ovid's *olim Ante quater denos hunc se reminiscitur annos* M. vii. 292.

² Equally uncertain would be a conj. like *crepero*, 'dim,' leaving an uncertain light from the small size of the interstices. The mis-spellings *crebrier* *crebor* of CS seem ascribable to the difficulty of pronouncing the double r, which caused the commonly found omission of the second

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Buecheler's *uacefacta* has much to support it : the shortening of the *e* (*uacēfit* occurs twice in Lucretius (vi. 1005, 1017), each time at the end of a verse) might be compared with *calēfactus*, *liquēfactus*, *madēfactus*, *patēfactus*, *pauēfactus*, *rubēfactus*, *stupēfactus*, *tepēfactus*, *timēfactus* (Roby, § 994), in all of which the *e* might be expected to be long. The tendency to shorten the vowel which precedes the verb (originally perhaps a contracted infinitive, cf. *facit are* Lucr. vi. 962) becomes more marked after Lucret., and gradually caused its entire suppression, in words like *calefacio*, which in Quintilian's time had ceased to be used in ordinary conversation. (Lindsay, *Latin Language*, p. 184.) I do not know, however, of any instance where *uacēfactus* occurs, and the prominent position of *uacēfit* in the two vv. of Lucretius fixes the long quantity of the *e* in the memory with unusual distinctness. Hence though not improbable, and very near to the MSS., it cannot be considered certain.

Far more doubtful is *charibdis*, which appears in *S* as *carinis*^h or *carims*^h, in the fifteenth century MSS. assumes diverse shapes, *carambos*, *corymbos*, &c. The gloss in Placidus, *Corineos aceruos quos rustici ex congerie lapidum faciunt*, seems likely to contain the word which the *Aetna* MSS. present so diversely: but critics are not agreed what the word is. Deuerling prints *corymbos*. Buecheler considers *corneos* to be the correcter form, comparing one of the Gromatici (p. 401. 3 Lachmann) *grumos id est congeriem petrarum*, and the Hesychian words *χαράμις*, *χηραμός*, *χηραμύδες* (add *χέραβος*) in all of which the idea is of a chasm, or space with hollows, *τὰ κοιλά καὶ ἔχοντα κενώματα*: cf. Götz, *Thesaur. Gloss.* i. p. 277. That the word, whatever it was, contained the notion of *hollowness* might seem to follow from Nicander's mentioning snakes as lurking in such heaps of stones (called *ἔρμακες* or *έρμαῖοι λόφοι* from their connexion with *Hermes*, whose figure was sometimes erected above them),

r in *crebo*, *crebiter*, *crebescere*, sometimes of the first, as in Bodl. Auct. T. 2. 24 (Latin Glossary of cent. viii) *cebro*, *frequenter*, *plerumque*, although from its position between *crebras* and *crebre* this may have been a mere error for *crebo*.

COMMENTARY

Ther. 150 λιθάδας τε καὶ ἔρμακας ἐνναίοντες¹. But this word can hardly be *charibdis* (1) because this, as common and recurrent, could never have been corrupted into *corineos*, *cormeos*; (2) *S* gives it quite differently as *carinis* or *carims*, *v* as *carambos*; (3) *charybdis* (as Sudhaus observes) is not well applicable to a heap of stones with interstices which make it hollow: it could only be as representing successive layers of water suspended one over another that it would resemble such heaps. Gronovius (Obs. iii. 6) suggested *corymbas* in the passage of *Aetna*; this or possibly *corymbis* (a feminine however not known to exist) might well express a heap of stones rising to a head or point: cf. Homer's ἄκρα κόρυμβα=ἀκροστόλιον, and Hesych. κόρυμβον τὴν ἀκρόπολιν, ἐπειδὴ ἐφ' ὕψος ἐστί. τὴν ἐπὶ τῆς κεφαλῆς τοῦ ὄρους ὕλην. καὶ καθόλου πάντα τὰ μετέωρα καὶ εἰς ὕψος ἀνατείνοντα κορύμβους λέγουσιν. The Vatican MS. of *Aetna* gives *carambos*, which is not far from *corymbas* or *corymbis*, and this again is nearer to *corineos* or *cormeos* of the Placidus glosses².

. In 108 the termination *-ae* of *futurae* points to a genitive *simili(s) figurae*: so in 14 I alter *pingui* to *pinguis*, which is similarly pointed to by *oliuae*.

110 sqq.

siue illi causa uetusta est

Haec nata est facies sed liber spiritus intra

Effugiens molitus inter seu nympha perenni

Edit humum limo furtimque obstantia mollit

Aut etiam inclusis olidum uidere uapores. C.

¹ Hesych. ἔρμαϊος λόφος· τοὺς σωροὺς τῶν λίθων ἔρμας, τοὺς ἐν ταῖς ὁδοῖς γινομένους εἰς τιμὴν τοῦ θεοῦ· ἐνόδιος γάρ. Schol. Od. xvi. 471, Anth. P. vi. 253 (Crinagoras) λιθολογέες θ' Ἑρμῶν ἰδρύσεις, xvi. 254, Babr. 48. 1 Ἐν ὁδῷ τις Ἑρμῆς τετράγωνος εἰστήκει, λίθων δ' ὑπ' αὐτῷ σωρὸς ἦν, *Philologus* for 1893, p. 568.

² The words of Daubeny, speaking of the Solfatara (*Description of Volcanos*, p. 213), are almost a paraphrase of the above passage: 'The Solfatara returns a hollow sound when any part of its surface is struck, and hence has been conjectured to be made up, not of one entire rock, but of a number of detached blocks, which, hanging as it were by each other, form a sort of vault over the abyss, within which the volcanic operations are going on.'

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110 uetustas *Haupt* 111 Haec *Sv*: Nec *Arund.* *sed*
S Rehd.v intrat *S* which *Bormans* would restore 112 Et
fugiens Bormans molitus *S*: molitur *Rehd.v* iter *Rehd.v*
114 uicere *Sevin* fudere *Munro*.

If *Haec* of *CS* in 111 is retained, *sed* must be an error for *seu* 'whether it (i.e. the earth with its hollow conformation) has a cause of ancient standing, and this (cavernous) appearance came to it at birth, or whether (*seu* for *sed*) it is that a free current of air makes its way in (*intrat*), and in escaping (*Et fugiens*) works itself a passage.' On the other hand, *Nec* of *Arund.* harmonizes better with *sed*, 'whether its cause is ancient, yet its porosity did not come to it at birth, but air found its way in at some later time'; so *Munro*.

It is remarkable how often *C* has given *uidere* when some other verb is either required or expected. In 77 *uiderunt* is doubtful: in 336 *uidet* is open to suspicion: here *uidere* cannot be right, though found in all MSS. Between *Sevin's* *uicere* and *Munro's* *fudere* there is not much to choose in point of meaning, the heat might equally well *overpower* or *fuse* the solid with which it conflicts; but palaeographically the change to *uicere* is more common and easy: hence I have preferred the conj. of *Sevin*, which goes back to 1729.

116 non est hic causa dolendi

Dum stet opus causae. *CS*.

116 dolendi *MSS.*: docendi *Ald. and Munro*: docenda
Le Clerc, and so *Lachmann* on *Lucr. vi. 755* 117 causas
Munro.

Le Clerc illustrates *stet* from *Cic. Fam. ix. 2. 5 modo nobis stet illud, una uiuere in studiis nostris*. As there *stet* is constructed with a dat. *nobis*, so here with *causae*: 'we have no cause to complain, if only the effect is constant to its cause.' If the cause is found to produce its effect persistently, that is enough to content us: we need not fret that we cannot fathom the exact method of nature's workings. Neither *docendi* nor *docenda* is required: it is *vexing* to have to confess ignorance, hence *dolendi*. *Causa* is used in two different senses, somewhat feebly

¹ Or, as suggested in the Translation, 'or it may be that its cause is only ancient, and this appearance is nothing congenital, but,' &c.

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perhaps; but from *dolendi* to *docenda* is a long step, and we must not be too exacting in a poem which antiquity doubtfully ascribed to Vergil in his immaturity. We might as well blame Seneca for writing ad Polyb. de consol. iv. 1 (*fata*) *nilhil umquam ulli par cunt aut remittunt. proinde parcamus lacrimis nihil proficientibus*. Seneca has *causae dolendi*, ib. iv. 2, Ovid, M. xi. 345 *causa dolendi*.

117 sqq quis enim non credit inanīs

Esse sinus penitus tantos emergere fontis

Cum uidet hac torres unōⁿ mergere hyatu

Nam ille extenui uocemque agat apta necesse est

Cum fluuiō errantes arcessant undique uenas^r

Et trahat ex pleno quod fortem contrahat amnem. C.

117 non om. S credit S: non credit inanīs om. Rehd. Arund. Helmst.: credat Ald. 118, 119 are conflated in S into Esse sinus penitus tanto se mergere hiatu 119 ac Rehd. v: torrens Rehd. v: totiēns Haupt: imo v: imo Haupt. After 119 Munro supposes a verse lost, e.g. Rursus saepe solet uastaque uoragine condi. 120 Nam S: non Rehd. v: ille v, and S, though scarcely legible: illo Rehd. ex tenui uocemque agat apta n. e. S Rehd. v: Non ille ex tenui uacuoque agat aucta n. e. Scaliger: Nam mille ex tenui uocuoque agitata n. e. Munro: Nam mille ex t. uacuoque agat apta n. e. Hildebrandt, Philologus for 1897, p. 99: Non ille ex t. quocumque agat, apta n. e. Sudhaus, which Buecheler accepts but with Nata for Non 'undecumque quamuis tenui ab origine deductas aquas confluere sub terra oportet eo unde prorumpant.' 121 Cum fluuiā S:

Confluuiā Sloan. 122 Ut Munro fontem S: fontem v: conuehat Bormans: comparat Baehrens: amne v.

credit in 117 can hardly be right, in spite of Cum uidet in 119, for the subj. seems to be regular in Quis credat, Quis non credat, Quis crederet. Ov. A. A. iii. 281 Quis credat? M. i. 400 Quis hoc credat? F. i. 518 Quis tantum fati credat habere locum? ii. 414 Quis credat pueris non nocuisse feram? Aen. iii. 186, Ov. Trist. iii. 9. 1. [Yet Sen. ad Polyb. de Consol. ix. 9 Quis in tam obscura ueritate diuinat? = who thinks of guessing?

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de Const. Sapientis, vi. 3 *Vix enim credis tantum firmitatis in hominem cadere*, where Gertz edits *credas* against A.]

Haupt's *totiens* for *torrens* in 119 has the merit of closing the sentence with the antithetic *mergere*, 'plunging into the ground' × *emergere* (118) 'springing from it'; *imo* too is the actual reading of *v* (Vat. 3272), and not a mere conjecture. Yet there are so many traces of lost lines in the poem that here too a lacuna may well have existed; a single line would be all that is needed: Munro's supplement is given above; I have myself suggested *Inualidus solet, atque alio se erumpere fortem*, thus contrasting *uno* with *alio*, *inualidus* with *fortem*.

120 as given by *C* and the other MSS. is difficult to disentangle. Neither Scaliger's *uacuo* nor Munro's *uocuo* (another spelling of *uacuo*) satisfies: Sudhaus' *quocumque* is ingeniously near *uocemque*, but his explanation of *agat* as a potential, 'that chasm could not draw its springs from any small and ordinary source,' where a pres. indic. seems required, is ill supported by *trahat* in 176; for *C*, our best authority, as well as all the fifteenth century MSS., gives *trahit*, and *trahat* is only a *reported* variant of the so-called Gyraldinus. As far back as 1887 I suggested (*J. Philol.* xvi. p. 296) a restitution of the line to which I still adhere

Non ille ex tenui uiolens ueget: arta necesse est

Confluuiâ, &c.

'be sure that torrent (*ille*, sc. *torrens*) does not change from a puny stream into boisterous vigour': the change from a small and weak to a large and powerful body of water (*uiolentior amnis* G. iv. 373, *amne* Ov. M. xiii. 802) is nothing sudden, it is the effect of confluents. *uocem* for *uiolens* implies that the *i* fell out, and so in 213 *uiolentia* has become *uolentia* in *C*. Then *uiolens* became *uocem*, to which (*que* of *ueget* (a rare word easily misunderstood) was attached, the second syllable of *ueget* then expanding to *agat*. *uegere*, which is transitive in Lucretius, was also used neuter. Nonius 183 *Veget pro uegetat, uel erigit, uel uegetum est. . . . Varro Manio Nec natus est nec morietur, uiget, ueget, ut pote plurimum*. If *trahat*—*contrahat* in 122 are rightly recorded by the MSS., the poet must again be playing on two senses of *trahere*, 'drawing from,' and

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'drawing into one,' 'accumulating' (Aen. xii. 891). But it is not impossible that he wrote *compleat*, or *conferat*, 'contribute.' A subjunctive is more likely than an indic. like Baehrens' *comparat*.

128 This disappearing of rivers and subsequent emerging at a distance is mentioned by Strabo 275 as a phenomenon of the cavernous soil of Sicily, τὸ δὲ περὶ Μάταυρον σπήλαιον ἐντὸς ἔχει σύριγγα εὐμεγέθη καὶ ποταμὸν δι' αὐτῆς ῥέοντα ἀφανῆ μέχρι πολλοῦ διαστήματος εἰτ' ἀνακύπτοντα πρὸς τὴν ἐπιφάνειαν, and he names the Syrian Orontes, the Tigris, the Nile, the Erasinus, the Eurotas, and the Alpheios, as such.

128 sqq.

Quod si diuersos emittat terra canales

Ospitium fluuium aut semita nulla profecto

Fontibus et riuis constet uia pigraque tellus

Conserta insolidum segni sub pondere cesset. C.

128 *ni Jacob*: nisi *Sudhaus* 129 *Ospicium S* fluuium *S*: fluminum *Rehd. v Helmst.*: fluuiorum *Sloan.*: in fluidum *Unger*: uel *for* aut *Rehd.*: fluuiio et det *Baehrens*: perhaps *H.* fluuiio iam ac semita 131 *Conferta Arund.* cf. 157.

Two lines of interpretation are open in this passage, (1) making the apodosis begin with *nulla*: this is the view of Munro; (2) changing *aut* to *haut* (*haud* Le Clerc) to make the apodosis begin with this. Then *nulla* will repeat the negative in a more emphatic form, *haut semita, nulla uia constet fontibus*. This is the view of Sudhaus.

Birt's objection that the poet would then have written *non semita, nulla*, &c. is in my opinion conclusive against (2) or any modification of it. It is inconceivable that the strong, correct, and lucid *non* should have been rejected for the grammatically weak, tame, ambiguous *haut*: to say nothing of the outrageous hiatus *fluuium, haut* which, in any case, is impossible.

In attempting to reconstruct 128, 129 on the first view (that *nulla* begins the apodosis), we may premise that *ni* or *nisi* is necessary for *si* of MSS.: unless there were channels in the ground for water to run in, there could be no flowing streams. But in 129 is *Hospitium* nominative or accusative? If we could believe *fluuium* to be an error for *fluuiorum* (Munro),

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it must be nominative, but this will hardly satisfy. Unger's suggestion that *fluuium* is an error for *fluidum* is in itself plausible, as *fluidus* is usually written in MSS. *fluuidus*, and *fluuidum* might drop its *d*, becoming *fluuium*. But this almost requires, as Unger suggested, *Hospitium* in *fluidum*, and *aut* would still need alteration. *fluuium* as genitive plural occurs twice in Val. Flaccus, Arg. vi. 391, 443 *fluuiumque uias*, and may be right here: it may also be a corruption, perhaps of *fluuiio* (the terminations *-o*, *-um* are often interchanged), or of *fluuiio iam*; among the corrections of *aut* Baehrens' *det* seems to me the best, *Hospitium fluuiio det semita*, or *H. fluuiio iam ac semita*: 'did not Earth throw out channels at intervals, serving at the outset (*iam*) as a receptacle and course for the river-waters, springs and streams would assuredly lack their proper bed.'

In 131 *Conserta*, 'locked together,' i. e. with all its particles linked into solid cohesion, is possible; but *conferta* 'packed close,' has the support of 157 *Pigraque et in pondus confertu immobilis esset*, which looks like an exact duplicate of 131.

132, 133

Quod si praecipiti conduntur flumina terra,

Condita si redeunt, si quâ etiam incondita surgunt. C.

The reading of 133 is very uncertain. *Si qua et iam* (Scaliger), *si qua ante* (Ald.), *si quondam* (Bormans), *si quaedam* (Munro), *si quae clam condita serpunt* (Unger), have been suggested. Munro's *si quaedam* seems to me the simplest and clearest; *et iam* for *etiam* is questionable. But there is some difficulty in *incondita* which with *condita* preceding can hardly mean 'out of order, irregular' (Jacob), and can only='unburied.' Birt quotes Sen. Controv. vii. Praef. 7 *iura per patris cineres qui inconditi sunt*, and so Luc. vi. 101. The meaning seems to be that some rivers 'subito in sua magnitudine existunt, neque umquam absorpti fuerunt' (Scaliger), rise or spring to light without any previous burial (Munro). The argument: if water finds channels for itself, sometimes throughout in open light, sometimes buried for a time and then re-emerging, we may infer that air and wind similarly find their own vent, however little we may be able to observe it.

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137

iugera pessum

Intercepta.

I suspect the poet wrote *Intersaepta*, which would exactly describe the appearance of ground after a landslip, blocked up with fragments of rock at intervals. Rutilius Namatianus has, I believe, the same word, i. 101 *Intersaepta tuis conduntur flumina muris*, where the MS. reading is *Intercaepta*. The immediately following *densaeque abscondita nocti* (so CS with the fifteenth century MSS.) is better than *densaeque abscondita nocte* (*Gyr.*), as Munro and Alzinger agree. The locative is like *lateri abdidit ensem* Aen. ii. 553, *laterique recondere duro Luctatur gladium* Met. xii. 482, Vell. Pat. ii. 91. 4 *abditus carceri*, cf. the recurring *terrae*. See Landgraf in *Archiv für latein. Lexikographie*, viii. 69 sqq.

139 Whatever is to be made of *Gyr.*'s *Prospectare chaos et sine fine minas* marg. *uastum*, whether the original had *P. chaos uastum et sine fine ruinas* (Jacob) or *ruinast* (Munro), it ought not to oust the clear and intelligible reading of CS *Rehd. v*

Prospectare: procul chaos ac sine fine ruinae.

Allowed that *minas* has a genuine look which commands respect, still what it means is uncertain. Again *uastum*, which was unnoticed by the Jena editor of the *Gyr.* variants, is stated by Matthiae to be in the margin: was it part of the *Gyr.* tradition, or a later addition to complete the imperfect line? I follow Alzinger in rejecting it; but dissent from his interpretation of *chaos* as=*chasma*. *chaos* is merely desolation, a scene of earth, rocks, and debris, spread confusedly before the eye.

140-143

Cernis et in siluis spatiaque cubilia retro
Antraque demissa pedibus fodisse latebris
Incomperta uia est operum tantum effluit intra
Argumenta dabunt ignoti uera profundi. C.

140 *re†ro v*: *perhaps* rostro *or* rutro.

142 tamen *Rehd. Arund.* After this verse Munro marks a lacuna.

Here the case for *Gyr.* is much stronger: it is said to have

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had *Antraque demersas penitus fodisse latebras*. There is nothing unusual in making the lairs (*cubilia*) and caverns (*antra*) scoop out themselves (*fodisse*) the hollows into which the forces of nature have shaped the ground. Heinsius indeed accepted this (with *spatiosa* for *spatioque*) as right: so too Jacob and Munro, and lately Hildebrandt and Sudhaus. Yet *spatioque* of MSS. is not *per se* improbable, *que* answering to *antraque*, 'both lairs and caves,' and *retro* (*reſtro v*) representing an adjective or participle in the ablative; or again *spatioque* may have been originally *spatiente* 'expatiating,' ranging to and fro in different directions, cf. Trist. v. 3. 23 *lato spatiantem flumine Gangen*, Plin. H. N. xvii. 45 *intus ut in metallis spatiente uena: retro* or *reſtro* would represent some ablative, possibly *roſtro*, the hound's scent (here expressed by 'muzzle') guiding him in its wide-sweeping range to the lair (*cubile*) of the hunted beast. Such lairs would often be found to be hollows in the soil, of more or less depth and extension. Luc. iv. 91 *nec creditur ulli Silua cani, niſi qui preſſo uestigia roſtro Colligit et praeda nescit latrare reperta*.

A further doubt attaches to *demersas* of *Gyr.* for which all existing MSS. give *demissas*. Vergil's *alteque iubebis In ſolido puteum demitti* (G. ii. 230) is very parallel.

Coming to 142, we are not much helped by *Gyr.*'s *aeri tantum effugit ultra* for *operum tantum effluit intra* of our existing MSS. For (1) '*operum* seems necessary' (Munro), who translates 'you cannot trace out these constructions'; (2) *effluit* would be right of air *streaming out*, as Lucr. i. 280 (Alzinger); (3) *intra*, inside the cavern, as is perceptible to any one entering it; (4) the nominative has fallen out and was contained in a verse lost before CS were copied. Now consider *Gyr.* (1) *aeri*, not *aer*, is recorded by the Jena editor and Matthiae; (2) Sudhaus explains *Gyr.* thus: in these deep chasms the path loses itself beyond all tracing: air alone makes its way beyond: adding '*ultra* sc. *quam homines uel progrediantur uel prospectent*.' This is against the ordinary use of *incompertus*, 'unascertained' of *methods* or *processes*, not 'undiscovered' of *things* or *natural objects*: it rather forces *ultra*: generally it is a somewhat

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groping, not clearly aimed or expressed statement, in which it is difficult to make out the exact bearing upon the poet's argument. Whereas in *CS* the reasoning is clear, though some part of it is lost: the hidden powers of air are observable in the huge landslips and vast cavernous spaces which we often see: the *method* of such working is not traceable: all we can say is that if one enters such caverns an efflux of air is perceptible, pointing to some unknown storehouse or centre.

143. Sudhaus finds a subject to *dabunt* in the *sinus* and *antra* of 137 sqq. It is at least less hazardous to suppose that a nominative existed in the lacuna after 142, whether it was of one or more vv. or even to elicit it from *manifestis rebus*; once it had occurred to me that 144, 145 might have preceded 143 as ordered by the poet:

Tu modo subtiles animo duce percipe curas,
Occultamque fidem manifestis abstrahere rebus:
Argumenta dabunt ignoti uera profundi.

145. *abstrahere* is not, I think, 'draw from things seen belief in the unseen,' but 'withdraw' or 'abstract' from the visible workings of nature the hidden principle which you are to accept as the law of her operations.

146-150

Nam quo liberior quoque est animosior ignis
Semper ininclusus nec uentis segnior ira est
Sub terra penitusque mouent hoc plura necesse est
Vincla magis soluant magis hoc obstantia pellant. C.

147 in inclusis *S*: in incluso *Gyr.* 148 mouent *S*: mouet *Rehd.*: mouens *Gyr. ed. Par.* 1507 *Scaliger* penitusque mouent hic plura, necesse est *Munro*: penitusque, nouent hoc plura necesse est *the present editor*.

Here, as in 128 sqq., the problem is to determine where the apodosis begins. The prevailing view is that the protasis extends to *hoc plura*, the apodosis beginning with *necesse est*. So *Munro*, changing *hoc* to *hic*=et quo plura uenti hic, sub terra, mouent. So also *Sudhaus*, explaining: 'quo liberior et animosior ignis semper in incluso est, et quo ne uentis quidem segnior ira est sub terra (quam igni) eoque plura mouent, quo

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magis penitus inclusi sunt : eo magis necesse est uincla soluant et obstantia pellant.'

It is rather against this that the clauses are then very unequally balanced ; the long protasis with its two-fold division (a) *quod liberior quoque animosior ignis est in inclusis*, (b) *et quo uentis non segnior ira est sub terra, penitusque mouent hoc plura*, is out of proportion to the short apodosis *necesse est uincla magis soluant, magis p. obstantia* : again, *hoc* in 148 is somewhat loosely connected with *penitus* 'deep below as they are, the winds cause proportionably greater turmoil.' This would be obviated by making the apodosis begin after *penitusque*, and changing *mouent* to *nouent*. Then *sub terra* and *penitusque* are co-ordinate 'under ground and deep within (the earth),' cf. Sen. N. Q. vi. 24. 3 (*Motus est*) *subter et ab imo*, Lucr. iv. 73 *ex alto penitusque* ; *nouent plura* = 'cause a wider derangement,' ἀνάγκη πλείω νεωτερίξειν, like *omnia nouare*, Liv. xxxv. 34. The three clauses each with its comparative, *hoc plura nouent, magis soluant, magis obstantia pellant*, thus form an effective sequel to the elaborate introduction of the two and a half vv. which precede. Between *inclusis* and *incluso* (*Gyr.*) there is little to choose : *incluso* might be an euphonic emendation, yet may well be a genuine tradition of antiquity. But on general grounds I prefer to retain *inclusis*, not only as given by *S* and the fifteenth century MSS., but as confirmed by the variation of form which it has assumed in *C, inclusus*.

150-152

Nec tamen inrigidos exit contenta canales

Vis animae flamma uerrit quā proxima cedunt

Obliquumque secat qua uisa tenerrima causa est. CS.

150 *riguos Gyr. as reported by the Jena editor* : *riuos Gyr. as reported by Matthiae* 151 *flammae ruit Gyr. as reported by the Jena editor* : *flammaeue ruit Gyr. as reported by Matthiae* 152 *Obliquumque secant quae causa tenerrima caussa est Gyr.*

The fondest admirer of *Gyr.* will not claim much for it here. Except *flammaeue ruit* most of its variants are wrong. Neither *riguos* nor *riuos* (which Unger corrected to *priuos*) is as good as *rigidos*, 'channels in stubborn or resisting matter,' as opposed

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to yielding (*cedunt*) and soft (*tenerima*) ones. As for 152, it is unintelligible in *Gyr.*, lucid in *CS*: *causa* alone requires changing, for which I accept Le Clerc's *caula* 'barrier,' 'enclosure,' or possibly, as Nettleship shows from Lucretius (*Contributions to Latin Lexicography, s.v.*), 'opening,' like *per caulas corporis, caula palati, aetheris*.

158 sqq.

Sed summis si forte putas concredere causis

Tantum opus et summis alimentum uiribus oris

Quae ualida in promptu cernis ualidosque recessus

Fallere sed nondum tibi lumine certaue retro. *C*.

158 subitis *Gyr.* congerdere *v*: concredere *Gyr.*, perhaps concedere. 159 et subitis *Gyr.* ora *Gyr.* 160

Quod *Gyr.* ualida...ualidosque *MSS.* patula...uastosque *Gyr.* 161 Falleris et nondum certo tibi lumine res est *Gyr.*

Here the critic's duty lies straight before him. We have to choose between an *actual* text vitiated indeed, but recoverable with only slight corrections (*C*), and a series of *reported* variants which in no way carry conviction (*Gyr.*).

The text of *C* in 158-160 may be retained by writing *concedere* (158), *ora* (159), *Qua* or *Quod* (160); 161 calls for separate discussion.

'*Summis* causis et non abstrusioribus,' Scal.; 'causes arising on the surface,' Munro: Seneca, N. Q. vi. 30. 3 says *aliquanto plus impetus habent quae ex infimo ueniunt*: the poet is here stating the *counter* hypothesis that the explosions of Aetna may be attributable to causes near the top. *concedere* is the simplest correction of *concredere* 'gives way to,' 'is a concession to': with reference to the overpowering forces at work in the volcano. I see no cause to suspect *alimentum*=alimentorum, see Neue-Wagener, *Formenlehre*, i. 114, but *oris* must be wrong: possibly an error for *ora*, *ualida ora* co-ordinating with *ualidos recessus*: at the end of a verse the last letter might easily be obscured. *Quae* is less probably *Quod* than *Qua* 'at the point where you see vast fissures': *ualida* 'puissant,' i. e. proving the strength of the powers that cause them, *ἰσχυρά*. It is noticeable that the repeated *summis* has its counterpart in the repeated *ualida*...

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ualidos ; but I have preferred to treat it as corrupt, *et summis* for *adsumptis*.

161, if *C* may be trusted to have followed its archetype faithfully, could never have been as stated from *Gyr.*, *Falleris et nondum certo tibi lumine res est*, which amounts to an entire dislocation of the five concluding words. *Fallere sed*, indeed, can be nothing but *Falleris et* ; but this does not prove the rest of the emendation¹ (for such it surely must have been). In the *Journal of Philology* for 1887, p. 297, I suggested for *nondum tibi lumine certaue retro* what at least is nearer palaeographically *nondum tibi lumine certa liquet res* ; here *lumine* must be taken closely with *certa* 'the matter is not yet clear to you in a light which makes it certain' : *liquet* is a favourite word with Seneca, N. Q. vi. 5. 1 *Quidam liquere ipsis aliquam ex istis causam esse dixerunt*. Ov. Trist. iii. 3. 27 *liquet hoc, carissima, nobis*. Gell. i. 3. 3 *nondum mihi plane liquet*, xviii. 5. 11 *ut non turbidae fidei nec ambiguae, sed ut purae liquentisque esset*. The rhythm is imitated from Lucretius, e. g. i. 893 *manifesta docet res*, ii. 123 *magnarum parua potest res*, iv. 197 *quasuis penetrare queat res* : so too Grattius, Cyneg. 80 *meliusque alterna ualet res*.

162-164

Namque illuc quodcumque uacat hiat impetus omnis

Et sésé introitu soluunt, adituque patenti

Conuersae languent uires animosque remittunt. *C*.

162 uocaſt *v* namque illis quaecumque uacant hiatibus
omnis *Gyr.*, which *Munro* and *Sudhaus* accept adding in before
hiatibus, *Munro* marking a lacuna after 162. *Haupt* following
C conjectured *Namque illic quaecumque uagant hiat impetus*
omnis.

163 *Probably Set.*

Gyr. is here again, as in the preceding vv., so widely removed from *CS* as to call for special caution. (1) Every word differs except *omnis*, (2) *Gyr.* will not scan without the addition of *in*, (3) *Gyr.* will not construe, unless we suppose a *v*. or *vv*. lost after 162 : for *Et* in 163 has no meaning and *Sudhaus* leaves it unexplained. *Hildebrandt* (p. 110) classes this among the

¹ Bormans, p. 360, only accepts *Gyr.* with the strongest misgivings.

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'real restorations' of *Aetna* which we owe to *G*: to me it seems to perplex and confuse everything.

Can we explain *C*? By the change of one letter, we can. Substitute *uacans* for *uacat*, and the whole is intelligible: impetus omnis (est) illuc, quodcumque uacans hiat, 'the whole force (of the powers working in *Aetna*) is towards any point which is open chasm,' *illuc* (adverb)=ad id. For this change we have the support of Vat. 3272 *uocast*: for what is this but a surviving trace of *uocas*=*uocans*, another form of *uacans*? In this way the important and determining word *impetus* (Lucr. v. 814 *omnis Impetus*) can be retained, and as the argument is that, although the volcanic forces rush naturally for an open vent, *yet*, when it is reached, their violence abates and loses its fury, *et* in 163 would seem to be an error for *Set* or less probably *At*.

165 sqq.

Quippe ubi contineat uentosa quaquaeque morantis¹ (*sic*)

In uacuo desint cessant tantumque profundi

Explicat errantis et inipso limine tardant. *C*.

165 contineat *Rehd. v*: continuat *S*: qui teneat *Gyr.* uentos aqua queque *S*: uentos aquasque *Gyr.* 166 desint *Sv*:

desinit *Rehd.*: defit *Gyr.* 167 errantis *S Rehd.*: erranteis *Gyr.* limite *Gyr.* tradant *Gyr. as reported by the Jena editor*: tradunt *Gyr. as stated by Matthiae*.

This is a passage where *Gyr.* is generally thought to be nearer the true reading than *CS*, and must therefore be carefully scrutinized. From *aquasque* Munro's 'always deep-penetrating acumen'¹ elicited *acuatque*, and this looks right, accounting as it does for the *a* which is found in both *C* and *S* (*uentosa queque*). *Gyr.*'s *qui teneat* is also adopted by Munro, 'ubi in uacuo defit qui (=quo) (uacuum) uentos teneat atque ita acuat morantes': and Hildebrandt supports this by Cic. Off. iii. 1. 1 *ita duae res quae languorem adferunt ceteris, illum acuebant*. Sudhaus explains *qui* as nominative, and supposes the poet to *personify* the influence which alternately restrains and stimulates the winds. A nominative certainly seems more

¹ Hildebrandt.

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natural, but between *qui* and *quod* (which Haupt suggested for *con-* of *CS*; cf. *quod euntibus* = *coeuntibus* in the Gembloux MS. of Manil. ii. 380, *quod inucta* = *coniuncta* in the Madrid MS. of Manil. ii. 197, and so Alzinger) it is not easy to choose. In the rest of its divergences *Gyr.* if truly reported is inferior to *CS*, for (1) *desit* is only less questionable than *effit*, *confit*, and seems, after the Eclogues, gradually to have fallen out of classical poetry; *desint* of *CS* points to *desit* (so Alzinger). (2) *erranteis* is suspiciously like the false archaisms introduced by the scholars of the sixteenth century, notably in the ed. pr. of Velleius. (3) *limite* is not the sense required, but *limine* the threshold at which the winds issue. (4) *tradant* or *tradunt* is an obvious error and makes darkness in a passage which our MSS. give intelligibly. Even Wagler (a decided adherent of *Gyr.*) calls *limite tradunt* 'ineptum ac reiectaneum.'

The result of this examination is to throw doubt on *qui teneat*, and to be less confident as to *acuatque*. Unger thought *angatque* was the word; it is at least true that from *acuatque* to *aguasque* is not a very easy step.

168-170

Angustis opus est turbant infaucibus illos

Feruet opus densique premunt premiturque ruina

Hinc furtum boreaeque noto nunc huius uterque est. *C.*

168 turbant in *S*: turbare in *Rehd.v*: turbanti (*om.* in) *Gyr.*
illos *SRehd.v*: illo *Gyr.* 169 densaque premit premiturque
ruina Nunc Euri Boreaeque notus, nunc huius uterque est
Gyr.

The case here is very different: *Gyr.* presents a *total* intelligible (to say the least) throughout, except *est* in 170, which all modern editors except Hildebrandt¹ drop.

¹ Hildebrandt writes it thus (p. 102):—

Angustis opus est turbanti faucibus (illo

Feruet opus) densaque premit premiturque ruina;

Nunc euri boreaeque notus, nunc huius uterque est,

'at one time Notus is in the power of Eurus and Boreas, at another each of these latter is in the power of Notus.' This seems to me improbable: *notus* is required as the subject of *premit*.

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Angustis opus est turbanti finibus: illo

Feruet opus.

turbanti (dative) *opus est angustis faucibus: illo* (=illa re) *feruet opus*, 'in spreading turmoil it (*uento*, got from 165 *uentos*) must have narrow gullies to work in: this it is which makes the operation proceed hotly.' The remainder of the passage can hardly be otherwise than as *Gyr.* gives it: for *densique* of *CS*, which *Sudh.* constructs with *Euri*, is at best awkward, and it is at any rate safer to retain *Gyr.*'s correction in its totality. We can scarcely doubt that a correction so satisfying in all its parts really comes to us from antiquity.

Having said thus much in defence of *Gyr.* here as a whole, I must confess ἐπέχειν on the first of the three vv. It is a significant fact that both *C* and *S*, as well as *Rehd.* and *v*, preserve an *in* before *faucibus*: and in all our MSS. *illos* ends the v.

What is to be made of *turbant* (*CS*), *turbare* (*Rehd.v*)? Palaeography suggests *turbante*; then *illos* might depend on this, 'there must needs be something that sets them jostling in narrow grooves.' But *turbare* is plainer, and more idiomatic in its neuter sense; opus est illos turbare in f. angustis, 'those winds must needs jostle confusedly in narrow passages': a Lucretian use, ii. 126 *Corpora quae in solis radiis turbare uidentur*; v. 502 *Nec liquidum corpus turbantibus* ('troubled,' *Munro*) *aeris auris Commiscet: sinit haec uiolentis omnia uerti Turbinibus, sinit incertis turbare* ('to be troubled,' *M.*) *procellis*: and cf. Conington on *Aen.* vi. 800. *illos* is emphasized 'those winds,' i.e. that perform such feats of prodigious force, and is therefore rightly at the end of the v.

171-174

Hinc uenti rabies hinc saeuo quassat hiatu
Fundamenta solo trepidant urbesque caducae
Inde neque est aliud si fas est credere mundo

a
Venturum antiqui faciem ueracius omen. *C.*

172 soli *Gyr.*

A passage more doubtful than at first sight appears. (1) *saeuo*

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hiatu was rightly felt by Wernsdorf and Mähly to be strange; both of them suggested *quassa meatu* (so too Haupt and Baehrens); Unger conjectured *boatu*: I have proposed (*Journ. of Philology* for 1899, p. 111) *citatu* from Sall. Hist. fr. ii. 28 Maurenbrecher *alione casu an, sapientibus ut placet, uenti per caua terrae citatu rupti aliquot montes tumulique sedere*. Here Sallust seems to have used *citatus* very nearly as = *conciatio*, a violent or impetuous motion, and this, (which is more to the point), of *wind* rushing violently along the porosities of the earth and bursting mountains open. If *citatu* is right, (*quassa citatu* for *quassat hiatu*), there must be a full pause after *caducae*; and the construction of 173, 174 will be anacoluthic, the poet meaning *Inde, neque aliud est huius rei omen ueracius, uentura est mundo antiqui (mundi) facies*, but working the clause *uentura est . . facies* into dependence on *neque aliud est ueracius omen*, intelligibly enough, but with some loss of clearness.

If we retain *quassat hiatu*, there will be a pause at *solo (solī)*; *que* will answer to *neque*.

Hinc uenti rabies, hinc saeuo quassat hiatu

Fundamenta soli: trepidant urbesque caducae

Inde, neque est aliud, si fas est credere, mundo

Venturam antiqui faciem ueracius omen.

On either view *trepidant urbesque* is not a case of *que* misplaced = *trepidantque urbes*. Munro on 79 has persuaded himself of this in *Aetna* much oftener than an attentive consideration of the parallels he cites can justify.

It is perhaps not a mere accident that *uenturum*, not *uenturam*, is the earlier reading of C. Gellius (i. 7) calls attention to an archaic use of the participle *-urum* as an indeclinable future infinitive: '*uerbum est indefinitum, quod Graeci appellant ἀναρίηματον, neque numeris neque generibus praeseruiens, set liberum undique et inpromiscum.*' He cites examples from Plautus, C. Gracchus, Claudius Quadrigarius, Valerius Antias, and one from Cic. Verr. Act. ii. Orat. 5. 167 *quocumque uenerint, hanc sibi rem praesidio futurum*. Gellius says *futurum* (not *futuram*) was written here in '*libro spectatae fidei, Tironiana cura atque disciplina facto*'; and his statement may be

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thought to outweigh our MSS. of the Verrines, the best of which give *futuram* (Hertz). It does not seem to me impossible that in the passage of *Aetna* such an archaism (*uenturum* = *uenturam esse*) should have been admitted: but if there is a full pause after *caducae*, it is perhaps unlikely that such an archaism would be allowed to add to the obscurities of an anacoluthic sentence.

175, 6 Haec primo cum sit species naturaue terrae

Introrsus cessante solo trahit undique uenas. C.

175 immo Gyr. naturaue Gyr. Haec prima species *is*
a correction mentioned in the ed. Paris, 1507. 176 trahat
Gyr.

Whatever the source of Gyr.'s three variants, they are worth little. (1) What is *immo*? If it means 'nay rather,' it must refer to the objection started in 158, viz. that volcanic effects are produced near the surface of the soil: to that objection he has been replying in 162 sqq., and in *immo* returns to the point he has before insisted on, 94 sqq. that the earth is drilled in every part with cavities (Hild. and Sudh.). This is somewhat remote and difficult. Matthiae thought it was *imo*, constructed, I suppose, with *terrae*, 'the bottom of the earth'; on which however he has not been dwelling in any way particularly. Surely *primo* of C is on every showing clearer and simpler 'to start with': the porosity of earth being assumed as a starting-point. As for *naturaue* it could not stand against C's *naturaue*, even if we had the original MS. of Gyraldus before us; the two words *species*, *natura* are complements of each other, hence *que*; the alternative suggested by *ue* (the configuration, or if you will the nature of the ground) is a pedantic affectation of scientific precision. Thirdly, what is *trahat*? Hildebrandt makes it depend on *cum* from 175, with 177 as apodosis to 175, 176, a most unlikely asyndeton, and a palpably wrong apodosis. Sudhaus, making *Aetna* in 177 nominative to *trahat*, explains this as a potential modelled on Greek, and translates, 'Aetna might be expected to break into channels.' But neither *agat* in 120, nor *concrescant* in 281, can be held to support such a sense of *trahat*; and Munro, though accepting *immo*, could not

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stomach *trahat*, and prints what all our extant MSS. rightly give, *trahit*.

cessante solo, 'eam dicit soli esse naturam ut, ipso a motu cessante, rimas meatusque occultos trahat,' Struchtmeyer. Rather perhaps *solo* is the surface-soil, which remains inactive (*cessat*) while the inner earth is splitting into channels in every direction (*Introrsus trahit undique uenas*). It remains a question whether *trahit introrsus* should not rather mean, as in Lucr. iii. 534, 'draws inwardly to itself' a number of branching channels (*uenas*) with the formation of which the surface-soil has nothing to do.

178 Non illinc duce me occultas scrutabere causas

Occurrent oculis ipsi cogentque fateri. C.

178 illinc *v* : illic *Rehd.* : illi *Gyr.* 179 ipsae *ed. Rub.* 1475.

illi (*Gyr.*) could hardly be dative constructed closely with *causas*, it must be adverb = *illic*: the form has good authority, see my Noct. Manil. p. 89. The D'Orville MS.¹ of the Ovidian *Sappho* has in 125 *Illi te inuenio* with *c* added above by a later hand: and in the Merton MS. (250) of Seneca's Natural Questions, vi. 7. 5 *Quod illi quoque tantundem loci teneat* there is no *v.l.* In itself *illi* is one of the least suspicious readings reported from *Gyr.*, but I have not ventured to substitute it for *illic* which *Rehd.* gives, and to which *illinc* of *C v* points.

I marvel that no editor has retained *ipsi* of MSS. in 179. It looks like the antithesis of *duce me*: as if the poet meant 'non ego te ducam ut causas illic scruteris occultas: ipsi tibi sine duce occurrent in oculos'; 'I shall not act as your guide in tracing occult causes there: without any guide you will find they offer themselves palpably to your scrutiny.' The sense is no doubt plainer with *ipsae*: but the corruption of this to *ipsi* is not very probable.

181 sqq.

Hinc uasti terrent aditus merguntque profundo

Corrigit hic artus penitus quos exigit ultra

Hinc spissae rupes obstant discordiaque ingens

¹ No. 166. I have published my collation of this, and with it, of the Corsini MS. of the Epist. Sapphus, in the *Classical Review* for 1901.

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Inter opus nectunt uaries mediumque coercent
 Pars igni domitae pars ignes ferre coactae
 Vt maior species aetne succurrat inanis
 Haec illis tantarum sedesque arearum est.

182 Porrigit *Gyr. and so ed. Vicent.* 1479 penitusque exigit
Rehd. : penitusque exaestuatur ultra *Gyr.* 183 scissae *Gyr.*
 184 uaries *S* : uarios *Rehd. and Arund.* : alie *Gyr.* The verse
 after 185 is also in *Rehd. and v*, but in *v* is written thus : Et
 maior species et ne succurrat inanis : Vu at¹ It recurs after 194
 diuinaque rerum in *C Rehd.*; in *v* after diuinaque rerum
 follows Va Nunc opus artificem incendia causasque reposcit
 cat (i. e. vacat, meaning that a verse has been lost),
 then Vut maior species ut ne succurrat inanis. It cannot be
 right twice, and probably should be omitted after 185. 186
 Haec illis sedes tantarumque area rerum est *Gyr.*, and so (with-
 out est) *ed. Rubei* 1475 and *ed. Paris* 1507. After this verse
Gyr. has preserved a line which seems to have fallen out of all
 our MSS. Haec operi (sic) uisenda sacri faciesque domusque.

I confess to much scepticism here as to the value of *Gyr.*
 Except the correction of 186, which is easy and cannot well be
 anything else, most of the so-called restitutions are questionable.
 (1) Allow that *Corrigit* might easily be an error for *Porrigit*, as
 Heinsius has shown (cf. Sen. ad Helv. ix. 2 where *porrexerint* is
 spelt *correxerint* in Gertz' early and excellent codex *A*), and
 that the giant identified with Aetna would naturally be said to
 stretch out his limbs (Munro, Hildebrandt, Sudhaus), yet why
 add to this description an alien detail (*exaestuatur*), which interferes
 with the unity of the picture? Elsewhere, no doubt, the poet
 dwells on the effervescence, the actual eruptions, of the volcano,
 but here it is out of place, as all the surroundings show, nor has
 any one explained *ultra*. Now compare *C's Corrigit hic artus*
penitus quos exigit ultra, 'at another point it calls to order at
 its inner part limbs thrust out too far': here the line explains
 itself by the mere force of antithetic clauses, *Corrigit penitus*,
exigit ultra. I suppose the poet to be speaking not of the

¹ This seems to mean that the variant *Vt*, which is found in most
 MSS., was known to the scribe of *v*. at is *aliter*.

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summit, at least not the crater, of Aetna, but of the external phenomena which present themselves to the eye from whatever side the mountain is observed: *Plurima namque patent illi miracula monti*. It has huge openings which the sight cannot fathom; here its centre protrudes irregularly outwards, then corrects itself and recedes inwards: at another place is crowded with rocks crossing each other in absolute confusion. *artus* ought not to be too much pressed; the *idea* of the out-sprawling limbs of the imprisoned giant is doubtless suggested, but we need not particularize further. *exigit* is strictly classical, and in perfect keeping with *ultra*. Stat. Theb. ii. 41 *longos super aequora fines Exigit atque ingens medio natat unda profundo*, of Taenarus *projecting* a long shadow on the sea. (2) *scissae*, 'riven' (Munro), is no improvement on *spissae*, which pictorially brings the *crowding* of the rocks before the eye, and of which *discordiaque ingens* is an amplification. (3) *aliae* would not oust *uaries* even if we could appeal to an actually existing MS. to prove it a bona fide reading: we should still doubt whether *uaries* did not conceal a likelier word. My suggestion *uarie* is in no way violent and seems to express aptly the multifarious forms in which the rocks cross each other.

187 sqq.

Nunc opus artificem incendi causamque reposcit

Non illam parui aut tenuis discriminis ignes

Mille sub exiguo ponentibus tempora uera.

Res oculique docent, res ipsae credere cogunt. C.

187 incendia *Sv*: incendii *Gyr*. 188 Non i. paruo aut
tenui discrimine signis *Gyr*. 189 ponent ibi *S*: ponent
tibi *Rehd.*: ponam tibi *v* tempora *S Rehd.v*: Mille sub
exiguum uenient tibi pignora tempus *Gyr*. 190 Res oculos
ducunt *Gyr*: cogent *Gyr*.

In 187 incendii of *Gyr*. looks genuine. It falls under the same category of manuscript mis-spellings as the fuller forms *iuuerint* for *iuerint* Catull. lxvi. 18, *consueueras* for *consueras* Sapph. 130, ed. de Vries. This *incendii* perhaps caused the strange corruption in *Sv incendia*: if so it was earlier than XIth cent., and may have been in the supposed VIIIth or IXth cent. codex which Gyraldus is said to have copied.

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The two next vv. (188, 189) are a battle-ground of criticism. The text of *C* and our other extant MSS. cannot be interpreted as it stands, and has not at present been certainly corrected. *Gyr.*, on the other hand, as explained by Damsté, *Mnemos.* xvii. 196, is intelligible as it is reported: or again with Haupt's slight change of *signes* for *signis*. On the former view, *signis* *Mille* stand emphatically at the beginning of the new clause, enforcing *non illam p. aut t. discrimine* (Damsté). On the latter *signes* is constructed with *paruo aut t. discrimine*; as Haupt explains 'ne exigua indicia quaeras ut illam causam intellegas: magna tibi certorum argumentorum copia sponte occurret,' *Opusc.* i. 46.

In this instance it is almost impossible to readjust *C* so as to fit into *Gyr.* The genitive *parui aut tenuis discriminis* shows no variation that might make it seem a *rifacimento* of *Gyr.*, as e.g. if one of the adjectives were in the abl.: *ponentibus* of *C* finds a natural explanation in *ponent ibi* of *S*, or *ponent tibi* of *Rehd.*: all these are stubbornly remote from *uenient tibi* of *Gyr.* Equally wide is the gulf which separates *sub exiguo tempora uera* of *C* and the fifteenth century MSS. from *sub exiguum pignora tempus* of *Gyr.* Most modern critics therefore accept *Gyr.* unconditionally, Jacob, Haupt, Baehrens, Wagler, Sudhaus. Damsté shows that *signis* is supported by 448, *pignera* by 40, 135, 459, 518. Alzinger's objection to *sub exiguum tempus* is not convincing, see Dräger i. 619.

Munro retains *C*'s reading, with these changes:

Non illam parui aut tenuis discriminis: ignes

Mille sub exiguo ponent tibi tempore ueram,

sc. *causam*. But here it is hard to see why *fires* should be appealed to as the *cause* of fires. In the *Journal of Philology* for 1895, p. 10, it was suggested that *ignes* is an error for *ingens*; for the words *Non illam parui aut tenuis discriminis* imply an antithesis; such an antithesis would be supplied by *ingens*, sc. *causa*; this also gives a motive for *Mille*: 'a cause indeed which is not of small or slight significance; it is overpowering, and will set (*ponet*) before you a thousand facts (*uera*) in a brief moment of time.' *ingens* has become *ignes* in the excellent Merton MS. (250) of Seneca's *Natural Questions* i. 6. 1 *et bibit ingens Arcus* (G. i. 380).

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discriminis seems here i. q. *ῥοπήs*, *momenti*.

For 190 Munro unhesitatingly follows C, and everything is in its favour against *Gyr.*: the sequence of presents *docent*—*cogunt*, the absence of two rhyming terminations in the two halves of the v. A line like *Gyr.*'s *Res oculos ducent, res ipsae credere cogent* is carefully avoided by the poet of *Aetna*.

191 sqq.

Quin etiam tactu moneat contingere toto
Si liceat prohibent flammae custodiaque ignis
Illi operum est arcent aditus diuinaque rerum
Vt maior species etne succurrat inanis
Cura sine arbitrio est eadem procul omnia cernes

Nec tamen est dubium penitus quin torqueat aethna. C.

191 moneat S: moneant vAr.: moueant Rehd.: moneam
Gyr. according to the Jena editor, but Matthiae gives moneant
toto S Rehd. v Ar.: tuto *Gyr.*, as Scaliger conj. 193 opertum
Rehd. Ar.: operi *Gyr.* aditus *Gyr.*: aditus C: dictis Rehd.
194 aethne S: ethnae Rehd.: ut ne v succurrat all MSS.
Perhaps succumbat, 'give in, own itself defeated.' 195
cernes S: cernis Rehd. v 196 quin S Rehd. v: quid
Gyr.: quis ed. Paris 1507, Scal. torq||| S: torqueat
Rehd. v: torreat *Gyr.* aethna Rehd.: hetna v, in S -na alone
remains. *Nothing has been reported as to Gyr.*

moneat (CS) was retained by de Rooy, sc. *Aetna*. *Aetna* would inform you by another sense besides sight, namely touch, if only contact with it were safe (*tuto*). But *moneam* is more natural, and *moneant*, which v *Arund.* agree to give, would be a well-known mis-writing of it. Between *operum*, the reading of all extant MSS., *operi* of *Gyr.*, the balance seems to be in favour of the genitive: custodia operum illi (*Aetnae*) ignis est; here *custodia* is 'the guard,' not 'the guardianship,' as often, Ov. M. viii. 69 *aditus custodia seruat*, xii. 148, 149 *Dumque uigil Phrygios seruat custodia muros Et uigil Argolicas seruat custodia fossas*.

No v. l. of *arcent* has come to us, yet *arcens* (Haupt) is more than plausible, and *adytis*, to which Rehd.'s *dictis* appears to point and which from its unfrequency might easily be corrupted, is recommended by its simple directness, 'keeping you away

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from the inner shrines,' where the mysterious operations of the volcano are enacting. The spelling of *S adhitus* is rather in favour of this ¹.

192, 193 form a proper introduction to the doubtful v. *Ut maior species etne succurrat inanis*, which in the MSS. is found also after 185. The gods forbid close access to Aetna's fires, so to invest the mountain with greater pomp ². But when we turn to details, there is some perplexity. What is *succurrat*, and why *inanis*? If *inanis* is right, it must have some *special* force, and cannot be a mere epithet; such a sense has been found by translating 'when Aetna is raked out,' i.e. when an eruption has occurred to drive into air part of its interior ³, and strike awe into the beholder. This does some violence to the Latin. It would be less harsh to read *in annis*, and this would also agree better with *succurrat*, 'that Aetna's majesty, as years advance, may rise more imposingly on the view,' i.e. that in proportion to the difficulty of ascertaining the causes of the volcanic phenomena, may be the feeling of solemnity and mystery which the sight of Aetna occasions, increasing with time as it becomes more and more inexplicable ⁴.

Against both of these views is the sense given to *succurrat*, which ordinarily means (1) to come to the rescue, (2) to occur, as a thought, to the *mind*, not the *eyes*. Hence the suggestion which I made in *Journ. of Philol.* for 1892, p. 227 to write *et ne* for *etne* or *etne*: then the nominative to *succurrat* will be *cura*, 'the god's care for creation is without witness, in order to heighten the effect of the show, and that it (sc. *cura*) may not interfere inefficaciously.' *succurrat* would imply that the upheaval

¹ Lachmann on Lucr. ii. 991 explains *adytus* of the MSS. of Nonius in a verse of Attius (Non. 488) as ἀδύτους, and Ribbeck follows him.

² Strab. x. 467 ἡ κρύψις ἢ μυστικὴ τῶν ἱερῶν σεμνοποιεῖ τὸ θεῖον, μμουν-μένη τὴν φύσιν αὐτοῦ φεύγουσαν ἡμῶν τὴν αἰσθησιν.

³ Nearly so Chenu, who, however, places the v. after 185, 'Ainsi l'Etna, creusé dans l'intérieur de sa masse, nous apparaît sous un aspect plus merveilleux encore.'

⁴ Ibis 75 *Noxque tenebrarum specie metuenda tuarum.*

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of the volcano was meant as a *relief* to the labouring materials in its womb.

It is some support of this hypothesis that Vat. 3272 gives *ut ne* (sic).

CS cannot be right in giving *quin* in 196, for *quis* in 197 would naturally require a corresponding pronoun; the doubt is whether *quid* (Gyr.) or *quis* is to be preferred. *Torqueat* in any case outweighs *torreat*; all MSS. give *Aetna*, not *Aetnam*. This would necessitate *quid*, 'it is not a matter of doubt, what it is that Aetna hurls up' (cf. 3 *quid raucos torqueat aestus*) (sc. rocks, stones, sand), or what is the marvellous artificer that controls a craft so mighty,' sc. *spiritus*. The two clauses *quid—quis* will then be opposed to each other, the *materials* of the eruption to the motor-force which controls them. If *Aetnam* is preferred, *quid* (*quis*) *torqueat Aetnam* will be little more than a different way of stating *Aut quis m. faber imperet*: both mean, what is the active force within the volcano which causes its upheaval. *torqueat* must then mean 'torture,' 'cause to writhe,' as in 259 *Torquentur flamma terrae*, where see Alzinger.

198 Pellitur exutae glomeratur nimbis harenae. C.

exutae *Rehd.v*: exhaustae Gyr., in *S* the word has perished: exustae *ed. Paris* 1507 //omerant[~] *S* which is probably glomerantur, and this last is in *Rehd.*: glomeratur *v*: glomeratim Gyr.: glomeratus *ed. Paris* 1507.

Few will hesitate here. Both *exhaustae* and *glomeratim* look like emendations, the latter, as Alzinger shows from Georges' Lexicon, a word of late Latin: *exhaustae*, 'drawn up' from the interior of the volcano, is far less significant in a description of this kind than *exustae*, 'burning sand being a marked feature in an eruption,' Munro, who cites after Lindenbruch Plin. ii. 234 *Aetnae flagrantis in tantum ut quinquagena, centena milia passuum harenas flammarum globo eructet*, and Sen. N. Q. ii. 30. 1 *Aetna ingentem uim urentis harenae effudit, inuolutus est dies puluere populosque subita nox terruit*. This scorched and blistering sand is one of the most distressing phenomena of eruptions. *Exutus, exustus* are pretty regularly interchanged in MSS.: Manil. i. 732 *Exutas sedes* most of Bechert's MSS., except the

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Gemblacensis, for *exustas*; iv. 531 *exutus*¹ (or *exsutus*) *Phoebeis ignibus ignis* MSS. for *exustus*. Though *glomeratur*, *glomerantur* are not likely to be an error for *glomeratim*, it is uncertain what the word was. The *r* is stubbornly constant in *CSRehd.v*, hence I suggested (*Journ. of Philol.* u. s.) *glomerator*, with which *harenae* would partly be constructed; the word, however, is not found. Heinsius on Claud. R. P. i. 163 quotes the passage as in Scal. *exustae glomeratus*, but with no remark. Luc. vi. 296 has *glomerato puluere*. [In my text I have preferred *glomeranter*, like the Lucretian *moderanter*, *praeproperanter*.]

202-206

Ipsē procul magnos miratur Iuppiter ignes
Neue sepulta noui surgant in bella gigantes
Neu ditem regni pudeat neu tartara caelo
Vertant innoculto tantum premit omnia dextra
Congeries operis saxorum et putris harena. C.

205 Vertat *Ar.* tremit *Gyr.*: clam tum tremit *Wagler*:
iam tum tremit *Schenkl*: tacitus tremit *Baehrens*: totus
tremat *Alzinger*: tantum fremit *Damsté*, 'non audet quid
metuat proloqui, occulto secum murmurat.' omniaque extra
'*Gyr.*, perhaps omnia at extra (*J. Philol.* 1887, p. 300) in
occulto: tantum tremat (*sc.* Aetna) *Sudhaus* 206 operit *Ald.*
1517.

If MSS. are right in *premit*, the words most naturally mean 'Jupiter keeps the fires down and only working in secret,' i. e. keeps the volcanic forces as much to the inside of the mountain as he can; outside their effects are permanently visible in boulders and sand. This, however, after the detailed description in 198-201 of burning masses of rock heaved into the air, thunder-like detonations, and livid flames, is all but impossible: the contrast of *in occulto* with the visible and tremendous phenomena of eruption would be too pronounced. Most edd. accept *tremat*, a word often confused with *premit*, e. g. Val. Fl. iv. 129: of the combinations recorded *Baehrens*' is perhaps the nearest to what the poet might be

¹ *exutus Gembl. Voss.* ² *Cus. exsutus Voss.* ³ *ex sutus Matritensis.*
See my *Noctes Manilianae* in loc.

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supposed to have written, *tacitus tremit*. Sudhaus can hardly be right in punctuating after *occulto*, and making *Aetna* the subject of *tremit*: if *tremit* is right, not only rhythm, but the general feeling of the passage, is in favour of *Iuppiter* as nominative. This is recognized by Damsté, who conjectured *in occ. tantum fremit*, i.e. murmurs in secret alone, not venturing to vent his indignation openly.

omniaque extra of *Gyr.* seems unlikely to be the original of *omnia dextra*: rather, the *d* points to *ad* (*at*). Such a transitional particle seems required; *que* is very meaningless.

207 *Quae* is accusative after *faciunt*, not nominative, as Munro explains: *ueniunt* of *Gyr.* is a palpable interpolation. *ulli* of all MSS. Buecheler would retain as a genitive. Neue-Wagener, *Formenlehre*, ii. p. 519 quote one instance, Truc. ii. 2. 38 *coloris ulli*. Buecheler similarly would retain in 208 *robustis* of MSS., *robustis uiribus*, as in Lucr. iii. 449, cf. *robustis u.* Carm. Epigr. 979 Buech. The ordering of the words on this view *Corporis ulli robustis uiribus* seems to me more prosaic, less Vergilian than our poet generally admits: hence I follow Wernsdorf, Jacob, and Munro in writing *ullis* and *robusti*.

208 *Sustentata* must mean 'held back, kept in their place' (Munro); *nec* qualifies *sustentata* only, not *cadunt*, as in Flor. iv. 12 *noua quippe pax, necdum assuetae frenis seruitutis tumidae gentium inflataeque ceruices ab imposito nuper iugo resiliebant*, i.e. et nondum assuetae resiliebant, 'all this they do by no natural tendency of their own, and are not supported in their places by any strength of structure, and therefore fall': i.e. are ejected from the crater and so fall, *cadunt* implying the previous ejection. In *omnes Exagitant uenti turbas*, the poet expounds his assertion that volcanic effects are not due to the materials themselves (*nec sponte sua faciunt*); the motive force is the rush of winds inside the mountain. *omnes* accusative agreeing with *turbas*, 'all their powers of turmoil': *Exagitant* of *Gyr.* is not certain for *Exigitur* of *C.* *Exacuunt*, or *Excutiunt* 'discharge,' are also possible.

210 *coniecta* of *C* can hardly be right; it is difficult to choose between *conlecta* or *congesta*.

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211-217

Haec causa expectata ruunt incendia mortis
 Spiritus inflatis nomen languentibus aer
 Nam prope nequiquam par est uolentia semper
 Ingenium uelox illi motusque per ennis
 Verum opus auxilium est ut pellat corpore nullus
 Impetus est ipsi qua spiritus imperat audit
 Hinc princeps magnosque sub hoc duce militat ignis. C.

211 hac r Ar.: Haec caussae Gyr. expectanda terunt
 Gyr. montis r v Ar. 213 pars est Gyr.: persest
 Wagler uoluentia r v: uolentia Gyr. flammae for
 semper Gyr. 214 igni Le Clerc 215 corpore S r:
 corpora Gyr. 216 audet Gyr. 217 Hinc S: Huic Ar.:
 Nunc rv: Hic Schrader magnosque S: magnusque rv:
 magnoque Munro: qui sub duce Gyr. Perhaps gnauosque,
 cf. Lucr. iii. 962.

This passage is full of doubts. MSS. agree in *expectata*; but *mortis* for *montis* is in C. In itself *incendia mortis* is possible; either as='a deadly conflagration' or with *mortis* emphasized as standing last in the verse 'a fire that brings death.' The poet elsewhere speaks of the danger to life from too near an approach to Aetna when in eruption, 463, 504. *Montis*, however, is in the other MSS. and looks right; I follow Munro.

The stress of 211 lies, I think, on *expectata*: 'this is the reason why the conflagration does not come unexpectedly'; i.e. the internal action of the winds is a thing so recurrent and perpetual, that Aetna may be expected to erupt at any time¹. *Hac causa* expresses this more directly than *Haec causae* which would require an active sense in *ruunt*, like G. ii. 308 *ruit atram Ad caelum picea crassus caligine nubem* 'toss' or 'whirl up.' Of the various 'emendations' based on Gyr.'s *expectanda terunt* none is the least convincing.

212 *inflatis*, sc. uentis (209). The distinction between *spiritus* (wind in an inflated state), *aer*, wind in subsidence, is found in Seneca, N. Q. ii. 1. 3 *cum motus terrae spiritu fiant, spiritus*

¹ Cic. Caec. § 28 *testis expectatus et ad extremum reseruatus* might suggest 'long deferred,' baffling expectation by prolonged delay.

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autem aer sit agitatus, vi. 21 *Nobis quoque placet hunc spiritum esse qui possit tanta conari, quo nihil est in rerum natura potentius, nihil acrius, sine quo nec illa quidem quae uehementissima sunt, ualent; ignem spiritus concitat.*

213 Wagler's emendation *per se* for *pars est* of *Gyr.* restores light to a dark line. I do not however follow him in substituting *flammae* of *Gyr.* for *semper* which is placed at the end of the v. in designed imitation of Lucretius, e.g. iii. 991, 1003. 'Left to itself, violence is almost powerless; at all times the agent of conflagration (*illi* in a general sense, or, reading *igni* with Le Clerc, fire) has a natural temper of velocity and a continual motion; but it must be seconded by *spirit*, and without *spirit* can effect nothing.' It does not seem to me impossible that *illi* should be used in this vague manner; it can hardly be *uento*, or *incendio* implied in *incendia* (211), or *uiolentiae*. [I have preferred to print *igni* (Le Clerc).]

216 *audet* of *Gyr.* would be quite in Seneca's manner: N. Q. ii. 11. 1 (*Aer*) *circa terram plurimum audet, plurimum patitur*; but *audit* of *C* and all extant MSS. is in perfect keeping with *qua spiritus imperat* and is not to be altered.

217 *magnoque* (Munro) for *magnosque* of *CS* is probable, since *magusque* cannot be an epithet of *ignis*. Alzinger rightly rejects Baehrens' conjecture *Hic princeps magnus quo sub duce* which is based on the reported v. l. in *Gyr.*, *qui sub duce*; nor is *magno quo sub duce* much better. I suggest *gnauosque*, as in Lucr. iii. 962 *aequo animoque aedum gnauis concede* should be read for *magnis* of MSS.

219 *quae res incendia pascit* is explained by Munro, 'which is what feeds the fires,' sc. the winds. It is more natural to make it coordinate with *unde ipsi uenti* and *quae causa silenti*, 'what is the substance that feeds the fire?' all three questions depending on *Subsequar*.

220 *Cum subito cohibetur inest quae causa silenti.* C.

Cur s. cohibent uires Heinsius on *Claud. Raft. Pros.* i. 171 (ed. 2, 1665) '*quomodo illa castiganda sunt ex ueteri codice*': cohibent iners *Gyr.* as recorded by *Matthiae* *silendi* Heinsius.

The combined evidence of Heinsius and *Matthiae* points to an ancient v. l. *cohibent*, though otherwise the two critics are

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not in accord with each other. This might easily be *cohibentur* with the abbreviation of *-ur* omitted. *cohibetur* of *C* indeed is possible, as a suitable nominative may be found in *res* (219); but *cohibentur*, whether referred to *uenti* or *incendia*, is easier, and is accepted by Haupt, Munro and Sudhaus. The question between *inest* of *C* and *iners* of *Gyr.* is more difficult: *iners*, whether a good conjecture, or a real ancient v. l., is quite in the manner of Vergil (with whom our poet has much in common), transferring, as it does, the quiescence (*inertia*) of the winds or flames to the *cause* which produced it. As, however, it cannot have been read by Heinsius, who gives the v. as *Cur subito cohibent vires, quae causa silendi*, I feel less confidence in its antiquity, and with some hesitation retain *inest*, as before me Alzinger.

221 has some resemblance to Verg. G. iv. 6 *In tenui labor, at tenuis non gloria*, but the lofty tone which our poet assumes in the fine digression, 223 sqq., proves that to him Science was no *res tenuis* but the supreme aspiration of the human intellect.

222. The variants reported from *Gyr.* of this v., *Pigra* for *Digna* and *laboratis* for *laborantis*, are not supported by the Paris and Escorial excerpts, and are certainly wrong. If they were in *Gyr.* they detract from its authority: but they have the look of modern conjectures. *Digna praemia*, as in Aen. ix. 252 (Alzinger) and Ov. Trist. iii. 11. 50, an adequate reward: *laborantis respondent curis* responds to, compensates the labourer's pains. *laboratis* (*Gyr.*) was also a conjecture of Scaliger's, who has not explained his meaning, but no doubt had in mind Val. Fl. v. 225 *Fata laborati Phrixus com-pleuerat aevi* (where Langen explains 'per labores peracti'), Stat. T. i. 339-341 *iam Somnus amaris Inserpit curis promusque per aera nutat Grata laboratae referens obliuia uitae*. In both instances the usage belongs to the later and more artificial Latin of the latter part of the first century, and is alien from the style of *Aetna*.

223 sqq. The long series of infinitives beginning with *tueri* (223) and ending with *disponere* (248) depends on *diuina est uoluptas* (249), which perhaps determines the dative *effusus* (224), though with Wernsdorf I have preferred to print *effusos*.

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tueri is probably right for *fuere* of MSS.: it is a favourite word with Vergil, and occurs in Lucr., yet we must not ignore the fact that *Par.* and *Esc.* give *uidere*, and that *uidere*, not *tueri*, is the reading of *almost all* MSS. (including the Marcianus and the early Brit. Mus. codex (Harl. 2610) collated in Anecd. Oxon. i. part 5) in Ov. Met. i. 85, where since Heinsius introduced *tueri* from two Medicean MSS. and the scholia on Prudent. c. Symm. 260 contained in¹ Bodl. Auct. F. iii. 6, it has ousted *uidere*.

pecudum with *more*, brutishly.

224 *effusus in humum.* Lucian, Bis accus. 20 πότρεα χοίρων δίκην κάτω νενεκώτας ἡδομένους χορῇ βιοῦν.

225 *rebus* (for *rerum*) of *C* is surprising, as it could hardly have been caused by confusing *RERŪ* with *REB'* or *REB.* Since, however, *Par.* and *Esc.* have *rerum*, though in a slightly altered form of the v., *Principia et rerum uarias exquirere causas*, we need not scruple to prefer it. Yet Lucr. iv. 463 has *uiolare fidem sensibus*, and our poet himself, *Aetn.* 515 *figulos huic esse fidem*.

226 The MS. tradition is here desperately vitiated, *Sacra per ingentem* (al. *urgentem, rigentem*) *capitique attollere caelum*. The correction of *Gyr.*, which was already in possession of Heinsius, *Ingenium sacrare caputque a. caelo*, i. e. to 'exalt our mortal to divine' is brilliant and looks as if it must be genuine. Sudhaus shows that the 'consecration of intellect' is also found in Seneca, N. Q. iv. praef. 10 *ingenium . . . quod consecrari mallet quam conteri*, and after the first two words *ingenium sacrare* had changed places, the corruption of the remainder is natural and explicable.

[As however a doubt still lingers whether *sacra* may not be right, cf. Sen. de breuit. uitae 19 *Ad haec sacra et sublimia accedas, sciturus quae materia sit dei*, and refer to the mysteries of the universe, the divine operations of which sky and ether

¹ Auct. F. iii. 6 cites the passage thus, 'Cetera cum prona spectent animalia terram Os hominis sublime dedit caelumque tueri Iussit et erectus ad sidera tollere uultus.' But *Cetera cum prona spectent* is palpably wrong; and this somewhat detracts from the authority of the MS. as to *tueri*.

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are the scene, I suggested (*J. Philol.* for 1895, pp. 9, 10) that the words as given by *C* might be a corruption of *Sacra per ingenii caelestia tollere captum*, 'to exalt the sanctities of the sky by the grasp of intellect'; i.e. to employ the capacities of our intellect in examining natural phenomena, and thus exalt their marvellousness. Such a conj. is of course purely tentative: yet it must not be forgotten that as eminent a critic as Peerkamp doubted the now generally accepted reading of *Gyr.*, and retaining *sacra* substituted *peragrantem* for *perurgentem*¹.]

227 *sunt* which *S* had originally may be right, as it agrees with the other indicatives *metuunt*, *pergunt*, *religata est*, *lunaest*.

fatalia of *Gyr.* is not so good as *natalia* of *CS* and the Escorial excerpts, because it would not be possible for the most advanced science to know how many times the universe was destined to come into new existence: *scire* is inconsistent with *fatum*, about which *guessing* is all that is possible. Whereas *natalia* aptly expresses the prevailing theories as to the periodic destruction and re-creation of the cosmos, a question which goes back to the predecessors of Plato and Aristotle. Tim. 28 sqq., de Cael. x., Serv. on G. ii. 336 *Varro in satura quae inscribitur de salute, sic: mundum haud natum esse neque mori; Plato autem non natum aut mori; Metrodorus autem, neque natum neque mori; Zenon, ex hoc mundo quamvis aliqua intereant, tamen ipsum perpetuo manere, quia inhaereant ei elementa, e quibus generantur materiae, ut dixit crescere quidem sed ad interitum non peruenire, manentibus elementis a quibus reualescat*: and is familiar to Lucretius v. 1112 sqq., Propertius iii. 5. 29, Manilius i. 122 sqq. *Quem (mundum) siue ex nullis repelentem semina rebus Natali quoque egere placet semperque fuisse*: Lucan i. 79 sqq., and Seneca, e.g. Dial. vi. 26. 6 *cum tempus aduenerit, quo se mundus renouaturus extinguat*; xi. 1. 2 *Mundo quidam minantur interitum et hoc uniuersum dies aliquis dissipabit*: Epigr. vii. 4 and 6: N. Q. iii. 28 fin. and especially 29. Vergil must have had such a theory in view when he fancifully imagines that the world was born

¹ The verb *perurgere* is found in Sulp. Sever., Chron. i. 18. 8, and in Spartianus' Life of Septimius Severus in the Historia Augusta, c. xxxiii fin., again in the Life of Pescennius Niger, c. v.

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in spring weather : G. ii. 336 *Non alios prima crescentis origine mundi Inluxisse dies aliumue habuisse tenorem Crediderim : uer illud erat, uer magnus agebat Orbis.*

Munro, however, explains *principia* of the στοιχεῖα or elements from which the universe had its origin, 'one, two, three, or four, or as the epicureans say, infinite.' De Mundo ii. 9 πέντε δὴ στοιχεῖα ταῦτα (aether, fire, air, water, earth) ἐν πέντε χώραις σφαιρικῶς ἐγκείμενα, περιεχομένης αἰὲ τῆς ἐλάττωτος τῇ μείζονι, λέγω δὲ γῆς μὲν ἐν ὕδατι, ὕδατος ἐν ἀέρι, ἀέρος ἐν πυρὶ, πυρὸς δὲ ἐν αἰθέρι, τὸν κόσμον ὅλον συνεστήσατο¹. On this view also *fatalia* is palpably inferior to *natalia*.

228 *an*, Le Clerc excellently for *ad* of *CS.* *saecula*, 'ages long,' as in Suet. Gramm. xi *Saecula permaneat nostri Dictynna Catonis.*

229 *machina* as in Lucr. v. 95, 96 *multosque per annos Sustentata ruet moles et machina mundi*, where Munro quotes Manil. ii. 807 *Dissociata fluat resoluto machina mundo* ; Luc. i. 78 *totaque discors Machina diuulsi turbabit foedera mundi* ; to which add Stat. S. ii. 1. 211 *nec solidis prodest sua machina terris.*

230-233

Solis scire modum et quanto minor orbita luna est
Haec breuior cursu bisseuos peruolet orbes

u
Annus ille monet que certo sidere currant
Ordine quaeue suo errant incondita cura. C.

¹ This is the prevailing interpretation of the passage. The former view, which explains *natalia principia* of the periodical re-creation of the world is open to the objection, urged by Prof. Bywater, that it is doubtful whether any one ever attempted to determine the exact number of the world's renewals. Such a mathematical calculation, however, would, I imagine, have been perfectly possible, though it has not survived in the vast wreck of ancient philosophical speculation. Berossus, according to Seneca, N. Q. iii. 29, tried to fix the time when the world might be expected to be deluged, and when it might be expected to burn ; *arsura enim terrena contendit, quando omnia sidera, quae nunc diuersos cursus agunt, in Cancrum conuenerint, sic sub eodem posita uestigio ut recta linea exire per orbes omnium possit ; inundationem futuram, cum eadem siderum turba in Capricornum conuenerit.*

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230 *et also Esc.*: ut *Munro* luna est *Sv*: lune *Esc.*: lunaest *Munro*.

231 Haec breuior cur bissenos cito peruolet orbes *Esc. and Par.*, whence *Wernsdorf conj.* Haec b. cur b. cita p. o.; and so *Haupt*. H. b. cur sic *Baehrens*. I think ut has fallen out after cursu or perhaps after bis sex (for bis senos). peruolet *Gyr.*

232 meet . . . sydera *Esc. both rightly*.

233 After suo there is an erased small f in *S*: suos seruent i. motus *Gyr.*: suos curuent i. motus *Unger*: suis errent i. gyris *Haupt*: suos errent i. cursus *Munro*: suos uarient i. motus *Alzinger*: suo derrent i. guro the present editor.

In 230 *et* of all MSS. (as well as of *Par.* and *Esc.*) cannot safely be changed to *ut*, in the uncertainty of the following v.

lunaest is what *C*'s *luna-est* points to, just as *manuspolium* in the Madrid Codex of Man. v. 57 points to the word being considered a compound, *manuspolium* (*Hermathena* for 1893, p. 285).

231 In reconstructing this v. the choice appears to lie between *Baehrens' cur sic* and my own *cursu ut*. *cur* has the support of *Esc.*, and it is possible that *cur sic* was changed to *cursu*. The four Vergilian passages cited by *Alzinger* (*Ecl.* i. 43, *Aen.* i. 393, v. 561, xi. 133) are a sufficient voucher for *bissenos*. Moreover *sic* would have its significance, as the moon's phases pass before our eyes continually.

breuior, however, stands somewhat barely without *cursu*, which defines and explains its meaning; and as *peruolet* of all MSS. (including *Esc.*) cannot give place to *peruolet*, a word seems to be lost, which was probably *ut*¹. Our poet is here following *Lucretius* v. 618, 619 *Lunaque mensibus id spatium uideatur obire, Annua sol in quo consumit tempora cursu*.

232 *certo*, the ἀστρο ἀπλανῆ as opposed to the planets. De Mundo ii. 7 τῶν γε μὴν ἐμπεριεχομένων ἀστρων τὰ μὲν ἀπλανῆ τῷ σύμπαντι οὐρανῷ συμπεριστρέφεται τὰς αὐτὰς ἔχοντα ἔδρας, τὰ δὲ

¹ *Wagler*, *Hildebrandt*, and *Sudhaus* consider the clause *Haec breuior cursu bis senos peruolet orbes Annuus ille meat* to stand parenthetically in the indicative: but against MSS., except that *Gyr.* is said to have had *peruolet*.

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πλανητὰ ὄντα οὔτε τοῖς προτέροις ὁμοιοταῶς κινεῖσθαι πέφυκεν οὔτε ἀλλήλοις, ἀλλ' ἐν ἐτέροις καὶ ἐτέροις κύκλοις. Plat. Legg. 821 C πολλάκις ἑώρακα καὶ αὐτὸς τὸν τε Ἑωσφόρον καὶ τὸν Ἑσπερον καὶ ἄλλους τινὰς οὐδέποτε ἰόντας εἰς τὸν αὐτὸν δρόμον ἀλλὰ πάντῃ πλανωμένους.

233 *incondita*, with no fixed plan; *inordinatum ordinem seruant* (Apul. de Mundo ii. 1). The last word of the v. is probably *guro* or *circo*.

234. *signorum*, the signs of the Zodiac. *et* has fallen out of MSS., but survives perhaps in *tradita cura est* of *Esc.* as *est*. It is required, and is printed as early as the ed. Rubei of 1475.

iura. At any moment of day or night there are neither more nor less than six zodiacal signs above the horizon, and six below. This law is unaffected by the increased length of the night in winter, its diminished duration in summer.

234*b*. Only in *Gyr.* but seemingly genuine, though not absolutely clear. That six zodiacal signs rise by day, six by night is stated by many writers. Arat. Phaen. 554 *πάση δ' ἐπὶ νυκτὶ Ἑξ αἰὲ δύνουσι δωδεκάδος κύκλοις, Τόσσαί δ' ἀντέλλουσι*. Man. iii. 242, Luc. i. 91, Vitruv. ix. 1. 4 *ex quibus sex signa numero supra terram cum caelo peruagantur, cetera sub terram subeuntia ab eius umbra obscurantur*; Sen. Dial. viii. 5. 4 (Munro). Add Hipparchus in *Arati et Eudoxi Phaenomena*, ed. Manitius (1894), ii. 1. 3 *ἐν πάσῃ νυκτὶ ἑξ ζῳδία ἀνατέλλει*.

rafi disappear (set) in the course of the night, and (*referri*) are brought back to the sky (rise) when the next day sets in. On this view *totidem* are the same six signs. But in itself *rafi* might mean 'are borne or carried up the sky,' i.e. rise when *night* sets in, in contradistinction to the other set of six which come back to the sky or rise when *day* sets in: *totidem* will then be six *different* signs. Manil. i. 318 *Arcturumque rapit medio sub pectore secum* said of Bootes carrying Arcturus (one of the bright stars in his constellation) with him along the sky; i. 330 *Et rapit immensum mundi reuolubilis orbem*, of Orpheus, i.e. the constellation of the Lyre. It recalls the recurring *συμπεριφέρεσθαι* of Greek astronomy (Stob. Ecl. Phys. i. 24 (25), pp. 203, 205, ed. Wachsmuth).

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235-238

Nubila cur caelo terris denuntiet imbres
Quo rubeat Phoebe quo frater palleat igni
Tempora cur uariant anni primaque iuuenta
Cura aestate perit cura aestas ipsa senescit. C.

235 Cur panope caelo *Gyr.*, whence *Matthiae conj.* Phatne, Unger Phaeo, *Alzinger* Pleias.

237 uer prima iuuenta *Gyr.* Perhaps prima iuuentae, like *Lucretius'* prima uirorum, i. 85. I thought I could trace *e*, not *a*, at the end of *iuuente* in *S* (*Journ. of Philol.* for 1895, p. 8).

235, 236 Munro translates, 'Why, when Phoebe's fire is ruddy, her brother's pale, this portends clouds for heaven, rains for earth,' against the natural construction of the subjunctives *rubeat*, *palleat*, as questions. If *CS* rightly give the v., the nominative to *denuntiet* is *Phoebe*. Aratus in the *Diosemeia* recounts the different aspects of the moon (46-86) and sun (87 sqq.) as prognosticating weather. *Nubila caelo* answers to *terris imbres*, clouds expressing for sky what rains express for earth, storm. Dios. 53 παχίων δὲ καὶ ἀμβλείῃσι κεραΐαις Τέτρατον ἐκ τριτάτου φάως ἀμενῆνδον ἔχουσα 'Ἡὲ νότῳ ἀμβλύνει' ἢ ὕδατος ἐγγὺς ἐόντος, which E. Poste translates 'ill-defined with blunted horns On the third and fourth nights, and shining with wan beams, The south wind blunts her (the moon) or the coming rain.' And again, 64-66 quoted on 236.

Panope of *Gyr.* was considered by Munro 'a gross and palpable interpolation'; for why should a divinity associated with fine calm weather (G. i. 435-7) be introduced in ref. to *storm*? And how can *Panope* be cloudy (*nubila* adj.)? *Matthiae* saw this and conj. *Phatne*, the Manger, a constellation which Aratus includes particularly in his signs of storm. Dios. 160 sqq., specially 170 οὐκ ὀλίγῳ χειμῶνι τότε κλύζονται ἀρούραι: cf. 172 Haupt accepts this. Unger's *Phaeo* is not far from *caelo*, and would be in place, as the name of one of the Hyades (*ῥεῖν*) in Hesiod (Schol. Arat. 172), Hyginus (P. A. ii. 21), Schol. Germanic. Arat. p. 75 Breysig.

236 *rubeat* may refer to the red circle round the moon mentioned by Aratus, Dios. 64-66, as a sign of storm: αὐτὰρ

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ἔπην τριτόωσαν ὁλος περὶ κύκλος ἐλίσσῃ Πάντῃ ἐρευνθόμενος, μάλα
κεν τότε χεῖμερος εἴη. Μείζονι δ' ἂν χειμῶνι πυρώτερα φοινίσσοιτο.

frater, 'the sun,' Hermippus *de Astrologia*, p. 20, ed. Kroll.
palleat (ὥχρησαι, Dios. 119), loses its bright colour and grows
dull. Luc. vi. 501 similarly of the moon, *diris uerborum obsessa*
uenenis Palluit; Stat. T. xii. 406 of the stars at the approach of
dawn, *iam sidera pallent Vicino turbata die*.

237 It is doubtful whether *uer prima iuuenta Cur ae. p.* is
what the poet wrote. *Par.* and *Esc.* give *primaeque iuuenta*
Ver ae. p., which might point rather to *cur prima iuuentae Ver*
aestate perit, cur aestas ipsa senescit, in which *cur* would stand
at the beginning of each clause, *uer aestate* in marked anti-
thesis to each other. The corruption in *C* of *cur* twice into
curae is a sign of unusual vitiation. I have not ventured,
however, to alter the traditional reading.

239 *in orbe*, the round of the year's revolution. Hor. C. iv.
7. 9 *uer proterit aestas Interitura, simul Pomifer autumnus*
fruges effuderit et mox Bruma recurrit iners.

242. To the planet Saturn was assigned the brain with the
cold parts about it; hence age, indolence, and similar qualities
(Hermippus *de Astrol.* pp. 18, 19, ed. Kroll, 1895). Scaliger
may thus be right in explaining *tenax* of the *parsimonious*
tendencies of old men; and so nearly Munro, who however
expands the idea to 'ill-natured' or 'malignant,' comparing Ter.
Adel. v. 4. 12 *ego ille agrestis saeuus tristis parcus truculentus*
tenax. I prefer Scal.'s other explanation, 'impediens, remorans,'
obstructive, impeding action, or possibly stubborn, obstinate, as
Ovid speaks of *tenacia fata*, a destiny which kept a stubborn
grip upon him, Pont. i. 2. 63.

To Mars was assigned the gall-bladder (χολή) and the
choleric and *pugnacious* propensities associated with it (Her-
mipp. p. 18); so Herm. p. 38 μετὰ τοῦτο τὸ θυμοειδὲς τέτακται, δι'
οὐ τόλμα τε καὶ ὀργὴ καὶ θράσος εἴωθε γίνεσθαι· ἔχουσι δὲ καὶ ταῦτα
τὸν περικάρδιον τόπον οἰκείον, κεκραμένον τῷ ξηρῷ· τοιαύτη δ' ἂν εἴη
καὶ ἡ κρᾶσις τοῦ Ἀρεως.

quae ... quae, with the indeterminate sense of ποῖος: e. g. Ant.
921, Phil. 278 Hermann. See Conington on Aen. i. 8 *quo numine*
laeso, similarly Aen. ii. 123 *quae sint ea numina diuum*, where

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Servius says *quaeritur modo, non quid dicant, nam planum est, sed quis debeat immolari*. Stat. S. iii. 5. 18 *Quas autem comitem te raptō per undas?* where Statius asks his wife 'what do you mean by (talking of) my hurrying you over seas?' I consider it indubitable that both *quis* and *ποιος* have an expansive meaning of this kind. [A more exact sense might be given to *quae* . . . *quae* by supposing *quae stella Saturni, quae Martia*='what house of Saturn, what housing-star of Mars,' *stella* thus representing *domus*. Censorinus fr. 3, ed. O. Jahn, *Multum tamen refert, cuius quaeque stella domus, alienae an ipsius sit. Domus . . . est . . . Martis Scorpio et Aries . . . Saturni Capricornus et Aquarius*. On this view *quae stella Saturni* would mean, which sign of the Zodiac, Capricorn or Aquarius, in either of which Saturn houses, produces the temperament called *tenax*, and which of the two signs in which Mars houses, Scorpio or Aries, produce the bellicose temperament. This is perhaps over-fanciful.]

243 *quo sidere*: like G. i. 1 *quo sidere terram Vertere*.

244 *uias maris*, 'the tracks of the sea,' i.e. the lines followed in sailing. G. ii. 477 *caelique uias et sidera monstret. caeli cursus*, the courses of the stars in the sky, by which seamen are guided. This is better than to make *cursus* = the seamen's courses as marked by the stars, which passages like Val. F. i. 482 *stellis qui segnibus usum Et dedit aequoreos caelo duce tendere cursus* might suggest.

praediscere: Vergilian, G. ii. 255, i. 51 *Ventos et uarium caeli praediscere morem*.

245 *uolet*, 'hurries,' in reference to Orion's rapid motion as a hunter. Germ. Arat. 332 (326) Breysig *pernici sic pede lucet*.

Orion is associated with the dog-star, as early as Homer and Hesiod. Il. xxii. 29 *ὅν τε κύν' Ὀρίωνος ἐπικλήσιν καλέονσι*: Hes. *E. κ. 'H. 609 *Ὀρίων καὶ Σείριος*: and Aratus assigns Sirius to Orion as his guardian, *φρουρός*: *custos*, Germ. 333 (327). So also Hygin. P. A. ii. 35 *Nonnulli hunc (the Dog-star) canem Orionis esse dixerunt, et quod studiosus fuerit uenandi, cum eo canem quoque inter astra collocatum*; Schol. Germanic. Arat. p. 95 Breysig, and again 107 *quidam dicunt hunc canem Orionis fuisse et cum eo in montibus uenationem exercuisse, et*

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per adsumptionem Orionis in caelum hunc quoque adsumptum fuisse.

Sirius is properly the name of a particularly bright star in the Dog. Arat. Phaen. 329 ἡ δὲ οἱ ἄκρη 'Αστέρι βέβληται δεινὴ γένυς, ὅς ῥα μάλιστα 'Οξεία σειρίαι· καὶ μιν καλέουσ' ἄνθρωποι Σείριον ('In his fell jaw Flames a star above all others with searing beams Fiercely burning, called by mortals Sirius,' E. Poste).

incubet, 'broods,' in reference to the sultry heat of the dog-days (Wernsdorf) like *incumbere*; G. ii. 377 *gravis incumbens scopulis arentibus aestas*: not so probably to watching narrowly, G. ii. 507, Aen. vi. 610, and the passages there cited by Conington.

index can hardly refer to one legend of Sirius, that 'as the dog of Icarus or Icarus he brought Erigone to her father's dead body' (Munro); for that legend dissociates him from Orion, with whom our poet obviously connects him. Sudhaus may be right in explaining from Arat. Phaen. 755, 756 'Ὠρίωνα . . . κύνα τε θρασὺν Ὠρίωνος of the undaunted hound ever on the watch for prey to be pursued (Arat. Phaen. 340, 341), and guiding his master, the huntsman Orion, towards it. Sudhaus, however, adopts *excubet* from *Gyr.*, a word which applies more exactly to a *watch-dog*, and suggests a slightly altered idea, viz. that Sirius keeps watch to give his master notice against any of the fierce animals which it was his function (in one form of the legend, Hyg. l. c.) to exterminate. Schol. Germ. Breysig, p. 75, states that Orion's dog was traditionally *omnibus feris immitem*.

[Jacob explained *index* of the signs which the Dog-star gives of coming harvests, periods of sickness, war or peace, Man. i. 396 sqq., and so Alzinger: 'o'er what region S. bends wistfully to give premonitory sign.'

247. *disiecta*, Le Clerc 'dispersed' (Lucr. ii. 939) for *digesta* of MSS. Ad Herenn. iv. 2. 3 *hoc ipsum summum est artificium res uarias et dispares in tot poematis et orationibus sparsas et uage disiectas ita diligenter eligere ut unum quodque genus exemplorum sub singulos artis locos subicere possis*. But *congesta* of *Gyr.*, 'piled in a mass,' 'confused,' may be right, for it is no uncommon fact of MSS. to present the same verb with

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a different prefix, of which Pers. S. vi. 66 *pone, repone, impone, oppone* is a type. *pāti* nearly = *ēāv*.

248 *manifesta notis*, each with its distinguishing sign.

cerata C for *certa* is curious: a wax tablet would be such a *cerata sedes*; but (1) *disponere* looks the right word; (2) it is a mental, not a mechanical, grouping of which the poet speaks. He means scientific classification, and the assignment of things to genera and species (Le Clerc), *notare et separare* of ad Herenn. iv. 2. 3.

250 *dominis* of *C* is retained by Munro, 'for us its lords and masters,' but without much real meaning. I follow Schrader, Haupt, and Wagler in preferring *hominis* of *Rehd.*, 'a human being' nearly = 'man.' The idealist of science naturally calls on man, the inhabitant of our earth, to examine the nature of the world he lives in, and take cognizance of its marvels. *Omni* of *Gyr.* agrees with 253-5, but seems very doubtful on palaeographical grounds.

251 The first three words of this v. are uncertain. *C* and *Rehd.* have *Et quae nunc m. t. n. n.*; *Gyr. Quaeque in ea*; the vv. ll. ascribed to Pithou in MS. D'Orv. x. 1. 6. 6 *Et quae tot*. In Postgate's *Corpus Poetarum Latinorum* I have suggested *Et—quae non m. t. natura?*—*notare*, a sudden appeal which may be thought inconsonant with the exalted tone of the poet here. Yet *Gyr.'s Quaeque in ea* is far too like a mere correction, and if *C* represents anything like the true tradition, a not very happy one. In default of anything better the v. l. ascribed to Pithou, *Et quae tot*, seems possible; cf. *Lucr.* ii. 1057: this at least does no violence to the MSS. [Alzinger keeps *Et quae nunc*, and supposes an outbreak of Aetna to have happened just before, perhaps in 49 B.C. On other grounds I consider this to be impossible.]

252 *magis* for *magna* is a v. l. ascribed to Pithou, and does not stand on the tradition of *Gyr.* alone. Man's first care is to ascertain the nature of the earth; this is nearer to us men than astronomical speculations. *adfinis* because we are denizens of earth, and the investigation of its phenomena borders closer upon us than the knowledge of the stars. Logically this fits in with the surrounding vv. better than *magna*.

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[I have, however, retained *magna* of all our MSS. as intelligible, if somewhat less strictly logical. The task of examining into the nature of the earth is lofty (*magna*) and borders on (*adfinis*) the sublime investigation of the stars. The one speculation lifts us to the other.]

253-5

s. est
Nam quae mortalis spes^o quaeue amentia maior

Iniquis errantem regno perquirere uelle

Tantum opus ante pedes transire ac perdere segnes C.
mortalis *Srv*: mortales *Scaliger* spes est: que amātia
maius *r*: species que ue amantia maius *v*: mortali cuiquam est
Gyr. very poorly: Nam quae, mortales, res est amentia maior?
Lindenbruch: Nam quae mortali spes quaeue a. m.? *Haupt*,
and so *Munro*, but with mortalis superest the present editor
J. of Philol. for 1887, p. 302 254 diuos *Gyr. for uelle*
255 segne est *Gyr.*

253 If *quae spes* is right, it must be constructed, like *quaeue amentia maior*, with *uelle*, 'what kind of hope for mortal man is it, to be fain to explore? or what higher madness can there be?' This is, however, metrically weak and grammatically awkward. MSS. are corrupt: from *superest u* might fall out and *sper* be changed to *spes*. This also gives a very clear construction. *Scaliger's mortales* (vocative) seems quite in place, the poet, in his enthusiasm, apostrophizing mankind by way of a more solemn protest. So *Lucr. iii. 933*. With *amentia maior* cf. *de Inuent. i. 6. 8 quibus in rebus summa ingenia philosophorum plurimo cum labore consumpta intellegimus, eas... oratori attribuere magna amentia uidetur.*

254 *errantem* *Munro* explained as object accus. to *perquirere* 'a wanderer,' i. e. some one of the celestial bodies that follow a seemingly erratic course in heaven (*Iouis regno*): so also *Alzinger*, and before both *Chenu*: 'est-il folie plus grande que de vouloir chercher un astre errant dans l'empire de Jupiter?' It is better, following *Sen. N. Q. i Praef. 7 iuuat inter ipsa sidera uagantem diuitum pauimenta ridere*, *Apul. de Mundo Prooem. animo peregrinari ausi sunt per caeli plagas*, to make *errantem* accus. of the subject. *uelle* is not to be changed to

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diuos (*Gyr.*), but is a Lucretian touch: such infinitives are common in him at the end of a v., *conuertere quisse* v. 1422, *posse* 1264, ii. 566, 743, *potesse* ii. 1010, and cf. v. 1130 *Quam regere imperio res uelle et regna tenere.*

255 recalls Cic. de Div. ii. 30 *Democritus tamen non inscite nugatur, ut physicus, quo genere nihil adrogantius, Quod est ante pedes nemo spectat, caeli scrutantur plagas*, and Lindbruch quotes the remark of the crone to Thales when, in observing the stars, he fell into a well, Σὺ γάρ, ὦ Θαλῆ, τὰ ἐν ποσὶν οὐ δυνάμενος ἰδεῖν, τὰ ἐπὶ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ οἶμι γνῶσεσθαι; Diog. L. Thal. 34. *transire ac perdere*, to neglect, and so lose the advantage it might bring. For *segnes* of *Cru segnem* (Jacob) seems necessary.

256 *preminur* is a favourite word with our poet; *terimur* of *Gyr.* is comparatively coarse, perhaps an imitation of G. iv. 114 (Alzinger).

257 (278) Sen. ad Helv. x *Non est necesse scrutari omne profundum*, a passage closely resembling this. *profundum*, not the sea, but the depths of earth, as in 545 *quaedam fortasse profundo Incomperta iacent*, 577 *raptumque profundo* (Munro).

258 (279) *argenti semen* as *semen (aureae) uenae* in Ov. M. xi. 144, 5 *Nunc quoque iam ueteris percepto semine uenae Arua rigent auro madidis pallentia glaebis*, 'germ.' Ovid again combines *uena*, *semina* Trist. i. 8. 41, 2 *Et tua sunt silicis circum praecordia uenae Et rigidum ferri semina pectus habet* (Wernsdorf).

259 (280) *Torrentur* of *Gyr.* is no improvement on *Torquentur* of the other MSS. The earth is 'put to the torture,' as Munro translates, citing Plin. ii. 157 *aquis, ferro, ligno, igni, lapide, fruge omnibus cruciatur horis (terra).*

260 *pretio*, by the ore which is extracted from the earth. *uerum*, 'the truth,' i.e. 'where its treasures are' (Munro), the fact which lies concealed in its interior. *professae*, after making a declaration: regular of specifications of income.

261 *taceant*, 'is reduced to silence,' has nothing more to say, and is left to contempt and destitution. There may be in *taceant* some notion of the silence of a forsaken mine, no longer resonant with tools or the voices of men.

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262 *festinant*, *Par.* and *Esc.* rightly. Vergil has *festinant* with *iussa* Aen. vi. 177, *fugam* iv. 575: bolder than either of these is *f. arua*, 'hurry on their fields,' i. e. try to bring them to bear quicker than they naturally would. Stat. S. ii. 1. 128 *quas uestes, quae non gestamina mitis Festinabat erus!*

263 *Callent*, Tennyson's 'mattock-hardened hand,' an imitation of Theocr. xvi. 32 *μακέλα τετυλωμένος ἐνδοθι χεῖρας*.

expēdimus usum of *Gyr.* seems undoubtedly genuine for *expellimur usu* of *CSRehd.* and *Esc.* Grattius has *perpendimus usum* Cyneg. 122.

264 *segeti, uiti*, datives 'for corn,' 'for the vine.' Very similar is Pliny's *huic bono fertilis* xxxiii. 67, Claudian's *Diues equis, felix pecori* in Eutrop. ii. 272; perhaps too Cons. Manl. 179 *nemori quae commoda rupes, Quis felix oleae tractus*, though *oleae* might be genitive. [There is no MS. support for *segetis, uitis*.]

265 *plantis* of *Gyr.* as a generic term answers better to *herbis* than *platanis*, which however I retain as the reading of all extant MSS., and of *Par.* and *Esc.* If *platanis* is right, the poet must be contrasting spaces to be planted with ornamental trees, of which the plane would be a type (Hor. C. ii. 15. 4), with ground to be left for herbage. The author of the Pseudo-Aristotelian treatise *de Mundo*, among the trees which are *ἀκαρπα μὲν, ἄλλας δὲ παρέχόμενα χρείας*, mentions *πλάτανοι* (vi. 37). Of *dignissima* the construction is more ambiguous than in G. i. 506 *non ullus aratro Dignus honos*, where *aratro* is probably dative. Here it seems more likely that *platanis, herbis* are ablatives, best suited for receiving the plane, the grass-crop.

266 *dura et* is supported by *Par.* and *Esc.*, and though far removed from *diuiti diuiti diuiti* of *C* and our extant MSS., was thought right by Scaliger. He notes 'intelligit quae pastoribus melior erat: ea enim est quae durior et sterilior. Calles saltus siluas uocabant ueteres.' Matthiae conj. *dura, utilior*; but *melior* is Vergilian, G. i. 286 *nona fugae melior*.

siluis, forest-trees as opposed to fruit-trees. To these the hard soil is *fidelis*, in faithfully reproducing their several characteristics unaltered and unspoilt, as Vergil states G. ii. 240 of a salt soil that *nec Baccho genus aut pomis sua nomina*

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seruat. Le Clerc cites Fam. xvi. 17 where criticizing Tiro's use of *fideliter*, Cic. says *et doctrina et domus et ars et ager fidelis dici potest*: and Menander in the newly-discovered fragm. of the Γεωργός 35 sqq. (ed. Grenfell and Hunt 1898) calls a farm *pious* with the same idea, ἀγρὸν γεωργεῖν εὐσεβέστερον οὐδένα Οἶμαι, φέρεi γὰρ μυρρίνην. . . . "Ἀνθῆ τῶσαῦτα" τᾶλλα δ' ἂν τις καταβάλῃ Ἀπέδωκεν ὀρθῶς καὶ δικαίως, οὐ πλέον Ἄλλ' αὐτὸ τὸ μέτρον.

267 *Aridiora* Varr. R. R. i. 9. 4 makes a sub-division of soils into *umidiore*s, *aridiores*, *mediocres*.

oleae G. ii. 179-181 *Difficiles primum terrae collesque maligni Tenuis ubi argilla et dumosis calculus aruis, Palladia gaudent silua uiuacis oliuae.* Varro R. R. i. 24 says the olive is to be planted in *agro crasso et calido*, Columella v. 8. 6 *aptissimum genus terrae est oleis, cui glareae subest, si superposita creta sabulo admista est.*

sucosior Columella ii. 17. 4 *suapte natura sucoso solo.*

ulmis G. ii. 217-221.

269. The change of nominatives in *saturent*, *tumeant*, need not surprise: cf. 318 *Exagitant . . . pugnanti*.

Horrea is accus. after *saturent*, 'that they may fill to overflowing their barns' (Forcellini), *ad saturitatem impleant*: the subject is implied in *animos et corpora*. Sudhaus makes *saturent* intransitive, but does not prove such a use.

tumeant seems to be right; yet *tundeant* of *Ar.* may point to *tundant*, the more that *Rehd.* has *tundant*. I conj. *tendant* 'distend,' as Ovid says, M. xv. 303 *ceu spiritus oris Tendere uesicam solet aut derepta bicorni Terga capro.*

270 *faenilia* Vitruv. vi. 6. 4 *horrea faenilia farraria pistrina extra uillam facienda uidentur.*

vv. 270-285 are extant in a fifteenth century MS. of the Laurentian Library (33. 9), from whence they were transcribed for me by Father Ehrle, S. J., librarian of the Vatican. The notes appended are by him: the numeration is not in the MS.

F. I *sine inscriptione ulla, immo etiam littera parua incipit. Sententiarum partes iisdem signis quibus codex distinxi.*

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- Plenaque desecto¹ surgant fenilia campo
 271 Sic audi semper quo vis est carior illis² ipsis
 Implendus sibi quisque bonis est artibus · ille
 Sunt animi fruges, hæc rerum est optima merces
 Scire quid occulto³ terræ natura coerces⁴
 275 Nullum fallere opus / non multum cernere sacros
 Æthnei montis fremitus animosque furentis
 Non subito pallere sono / non credere subter
 Celestis migrasse minas aut tartara rumpi
 Nosse quid intendat⁵ uentos quid nutriet ignes

- 280 Vnde reperta quies et multo federe⁶ pax est.
 Concrecant anime penitus seu porta cauernæ
 Introitusque ipsi seruent seu terra minutis
 Rara foraminibus tenues in se abstrahat auras
 Plenius hoc etiam rigido quia uertice surgens

- 285 Illinc infessa est / atque hinc obnoxia uentis.

¹ quasi de secto ² Haec ita correctæ in codice ³ Posset
 etiam legi occulte sed uerius occulto ⁴ ether . . . aut
 coher . . . ⁵ Fortasse intendit ⁶ Primum scriptum esse
 uidetur federe.

271 qua uisum est carius istis C 272 illis C 273 hæ
 rerum maxima m. C 274 exculto natura C 275 multos C
 277 callere C 278 mundi C 279 impediatur C nutriet
 illos C 280 Vnde repente C paxsit C 281 animi C
 seu forte C 283 neue insé C 284 surgit C 285
 infestus C uitis C.

This is the only part of *Aetna* which in an entire and continuous form contains the identical variants which are said to have been in *Gyr*. It is therefore important to compare its readings with those of C. I call Laur. 33. 9 L.

271 is corrupt both in L and C: but worse in L. *carius* against *carius* can hardly be right. 272 *ille* of L seems right: *illis* of C, if it is not a corruption of *illic*, may come from e, a well-known abbreviation of *-is*. 273 *est* of L is no gain after *Sunt*, nor is the commonplace *optima* better than, if indeed it is as good as, *maxima*. 274 is quite doubtful: still the balance is in favour of *occulto* (which is found not only

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in *L* but all the fifteenth-century MSS. of *Aetna*) against *exculto* of *CS*: *terrae natura* is accepted by Haupt and Munro.

275 *multum* of *L* against *multos* of *C* is indecisive: if *multum* would represent *mutum*, *multos* would equally represent *mutos*.

277 *pallere* of *L* is clear gain: for *all* my other MSS. have *callere*.

278 *rumpi* looks right: or can *mundi* of *C* point to *fundi*?

279 *intendat* of *L* is less of an antithesis to *nutriat* than *impediat* of *C*. *illos* of *C* looks wrong; the word is omitted in the XIth-century fragment of Stavelot (*S*).

280 *Vnde repente* of *C* is undoubtedly right, cf. *Lucr. vi. 667 Vnde repente queat tellus concussa moueri*, 1090 *unde repente Mortiferam possit cladem conflare* (Alzinger). Again *pax sit* is what we should expect, *pax est* of *L* would be grammatically awkward.

281 *C*'s *animi* 'the fury' of the winds is more effective than the tame *anime* of *L*, which could only be a variation of *uenti*. Uncertainty of meaning makes it difficult to decide between *porta, forte*.

283 *tenues* of *L* is very likely to be the original of which *neue* (*C*) is the truncated remnant.

284 Whether *surgens* (*L*) or *surgit* (*C*) is right cannot be settled in the uncertainty of 285. But *infessa est* of *L*, whether it represents *insessa est*, a word of Livy and Statius, or *infesta est* (Baehrens), is a weak anticipation of *obnoxia*; whereas *infestus* of *C* is an easy error for *infestis*: to which *obnoxia* is the proper correlative.

uentis of *L* is a pure gain, *uitis* a bad corruption which is found not only in *C*, but in *Rehd.* and *Arundel*.

We have then in *L* two readings which are certain, *pallere uentis*; five which are more than probable, *illae occulto rumpi ignes tenues*.

In *C unde repente, animi*, seem certain; *qua uisum est carius, hae rerum maxima, impediat, infestus (infestis), pax sit*, more than probable.

The other points of disagreement are so dubious as not to affect the argument.

The balance is thus very even.

271 The difficulty of this verse lies in the want of a verb to *auidi*, and in the vagueness of *istis*, for which *Gyr.* and *L* give *illis* corrected to *ipsis*. Munro writes, 'They are ever

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full of greed, when anything has shown itself more precious than what they have.' Alzinger supplies *sunt*, and explains *istis* of the grand phenomena of nature mentioned in 253, 'They are greedy only when (*sic . . . qua*) anywhere something more precious than the despised marvels of nature has come into view,' i.e. something which like gold or other treasures of the mine pays their search in hard coin. Such an omitted verb seems intolerably harsh, even in *Aetna*, with its daring grammar and free constructions. I find a verb in *itis* for *istis* of *C*: the vocative *mortales* has preceded in 253.

[Haupt conj.]

Sic audi semper qua uisum est carius, istis

Implemus se quisque bonis.

Mähly

Sic audi semper, quo quidque est carius, istis

Implemus se quisque bonis.

Baehrens, followed by Sudhaus,

Sic audis semper quaeuis res carior ipsis.]

272 'Each man must *play his own part* in taking his fill of noble crafts': such seems to be the meaning of *sibi quisque*. The construction of *sibi*¹ is determined by *quisque*, which in its different cases is naturally combined with the reflexive *sibi*, *se* and by the analogy of combinations like *suo sibi telo*, *suco*, *sua sibi ingenua indoles*, *sua sibi fallacia* all Plautine (Holtze, *Syntaxis* i. p. 364).

bonis artibus: Sen. N. Q. vi. 32. I *non enim aliunde uenit animo robur quam a bonis artibus, a contemplatione naturae*. He means the pursuits of culture and education, particularly the study of science and natural phenomena.

273 *fruges*: Wernsdorf compares Pers. v. 64 *Frugae Cleanthea*, and Jahn there Cic. Tusc. Disp. ii. 5. 13 *cultura animi philosophia est, haec extrahit uitia radicitus et praeparat animos ad satus accipiendos eaque mandat eis, et ut ita dicam serit, quae adulta fructus uberrimos ferant*.

¹ Passages like Lucr. iii. 333 might be compared, *Nec sibi quaeque sine alterius ui posse uidetur Corporis atque animi sorsum sentire potestas*.

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hae C, haec Gyr. and *L.* *C*'s reading agrees with the omission of *est* (*hae rerum maxima merces*); but *haec rerum est optima* of *L* and *Gyr.* is nearly as good, and may come from a genuine antiquity. *maxima* is rather less ordinary, I think, than *optima*.

274 *quod* of *Rehd.* is preferred by Munro to *quid*, which however seems defensible from the indicatives in 228, 229, and again 238, 239, and is found in *C.* *oculto* is in *L* (Father Ehrle speaks decisively against its being read *occulte*), is reported independently from *Gyr.*, and is found in *Rehd.* and *v.* For this reason I admit it against *excullo* of *CS*, and so Haupt, Munro, and Sudhaus. *terrae natura* of *L* and *Gyr.* is not certain, but looks right, is Lucretian, and is pronounced by Hildebrandt a real cure: I would suggest however that *natura* (*et*) *terra*¹ may be latent in *natura terra* of *C*, *nature terra* of *v.*

275 Scaliger, Munro, and most edd. make *nullum opus* subject to *fallere*, 'that no operation of nature should escape us,' cf. on *saturent* 269; I prefer to give *fallere* an active sense 'to belie,' i. e. falsify by giving an explanation which is not true. So *Ov. F. ii. 837 Brutus adest tandemque animo sua nomina fallit* belies his name of Brutus by a resolute action. It is hard to choose between *mutum* to which *L* and *Gyr.* point (*multum*), and *mutos* (*multos C*), or again *muto* which is found in *v*, and is latent in *multo* of *Rehd.* The dative would be determined by *hae rerum maxima merces*.

278 *Tartara mundi* can hardly be an echo of Lucretius' *sidera mundi* (*ii. 328*) and would require *aut* to be changed to *ad* (so ed. Rub. 1475). It seems to be a mis-spelling either of *rumpi* (*L* and *Gyr.*), or perhaps of *fundi*, 'is being effused.'

279 *impediat . . . nutriat* are correlatives and call for no change. But *illos* of *C* is more than doubtful, as it is entirely omitted by *S* (the XIth century Stabulensian Fragment). Postgate's *iras* is very seductive.

280 The learned Jesuit Oudin (1715) demurred to *multo foedere*, changing it to *inulto* or *muto*, *Journal de Trevoux*²

¹ *Turba et disiectus* has become *turbas disiectus*, *Lucr. iii. 928*.

² The original form of the *Journal des Savans*.

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(Tome lvii. p. 597): *inulto* 'une paix faite par un traité sans garant, dont l'infraction ne sera pas vengée': *muto* would of course refer to the silence which sets in when the winds' fury ceases. Both emendations are clever, but *multo foedere* is, I think, as good, and is supported by all MSS. including *L*. Munro compares *multa pace* Tac. Hist. i. 77, iv. 35.

281 *concrecant* (= *concrecantne*, cf. Prop. iii. 5. 31, 39) if genuine must mean 'come to growth,' 'grow gradually,' the various elements of the winds' fury massing their forces till the explosion is effected. But, though this is a possible sense, *concrecere* is so regularly used not of *qualities* like *animi* (rage, violence), but of actual substances or products of nature (snow, ice, water, &c.) as to make the word doubtful. Scaliger's *Cur crescant* is the easiest substitute hitherto offered.

[*animae* of *L* and *Gyr.* = airs, as *animam* 297, *animae* 358.]

283 *tenues*: impalpable, a good and seemingly right reading of *L* and *Gyr.* Lucr. vi. 104 *tam tenues quam sunt nebulae fumique uolantes* and 463. [My conj. *ninis* would be like Catull. lxiii. 70 where *niue* has been corrupted into *nene*.]

284 *hoc*: probably abl., 'the more fully for this': it would not be impossible to take it as explained by *abstrahat auras*, 'this too the more fully, because.'

rigido, 'stark.' Ov. M. viii. 797 *rigidique cacumine montis (Caucason appellanti)*.

surgit of *C I* retain, as 285 is doubtful.

285 *infestis* (Jacob) for *infestus* of all MSS. except *L* (= *Gyr.*) seems right. *obnoxia*, 'exposed to.' Colum. x. 75 *Verberibus gelidis iraeque obnoxia Cauri*. [I am persuaded that our poet could not have written, as Sudhaus edits, *Illinc infesta est atque hinc obnoxia uentis*. A more inept verse could hardly be imagined.]

286 The meaningless ¹ *cogitat* was well corrected by Schrader and Mähly into *cogitur*; Vitruv. viii. 3. 10 *a solis et aeris calore cogitur congelari*. With this *Vnaque* for *Vndique* of MSS.

¹ Hildebrandt (*Philologus* for 1897, p. 103) does not persuade me that *cogitat*, 'is minded,' stands on the same footing with *uidet* in 337, both ascribing to Etna a personal will.

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agrees, bringing *diuersas* into more emphatic contrast. Ar. Acharn. 493 ἀπασι μέλλεις εἰς λέγειν. Orient. Common. ii. 192 *Et quae per uarias mors ruit una uias.*

289 *fortes* for *forte* of MSS. means that they increase their volume and turn the head of Aetna, taking it in the rear (Mähly). The nominative is, as usual, vague: Mähly is probably right in making it *nubes et nubilus Auster*: and so Munro.

[Of the earlier emendations Baehrens' *forte erexere* is perhaps the best.]

290 *una* of MSS. looks wrong, since there is nothing to which it can well refer: it cannot be a mistake for *ima* (accus. neut.) as Birt supposes, supplying an impossible nominative to *premit* in *concordia* of 287; nor for *uda* (Sudhaus), sc. *aura*, which is vague and awkward, substituting an adjective where a noun is expected. Buecheler retaining *una* supplies *anima* or *aura* 'nam unus uentus subito commissus ceteris et collectatus initium turbarum facit omnium.' Against this it may be urged that (1) *una* is still unduly vague, (2) the introduction of the water-organ and the Triton trumpeting by hydraulic action (292-297) points to a mention of *water* in some distinct word in 290. Hence I follow Scaliger and Munro in writing *unda*, the water from the clouds, which acts upon the air.

Lindenbruch defended *delecta* of MSS. from Asin. iii. 3. 42 *ex aedibus delegit*: add Cic. in Vatin. xiv. 34 *urnas delegerit*, where other MSS. give *deiecerit*, Prop. ii. 32. 50 *altaque mortali deligere astra manu*, Tac. Ann. i. 22 *responde ubi cadauer ablegeris* (so the *Mediceus*). It is not yet *proved* that *legere* in these compounds may not have had a sense, distinct from its ordinary one, of removing or detaching. Here, however, the water is launched violently downwards (*praecipiti sono*), and for this the right word is *DEIECTA*: an elongated *i* or *I* is often indistinguishable from *l* or *L*. Sen. de Prov. ii. 1 *tantum superne deiectorum imbrium*.

291 *Torrentibus auris* occurs Lucr. v. 410 in the sense of 'torrid airs' (Munro), and *torrentes auras*, if genuine, should seem to have the same meaning (and so Sudh. 'die glühenden Lüfte'). But is it likely, if this is so, that the poet would give *torrentibus* in 298 the perfectly different sense of streaming

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fluids? Hence, as I do not believe our poet could use a Lucretian diction in a non-Lucretian sense, I follow Munro in adopting De Rooy's conj. *Torquentes*, a word which fitly describes the torpid and motionless state of the air when the water breaks in upon and dislodges it. *pulsata denset* = *pulsat et denset*.

292-4

Nam ueluti sonat ora duc tritone canoro
Pellit opes collectus aquae uictusque mouere
Spiritus et longas emugit bucina uoces. C.

292 sonat ora diu tritona canoro *Rehd. and Ar.*: sonatura dius tritona canoro *v*, whence I conj. sonat urna ciens Tritona canorum. *Munro conj.* hora duci, and so *Hildebrandt*. s. hora die or lacus *Haupt* 293 opus the *Helmstadt MS. m. pr.* moueri seems to be required.

Another very doubtful passage. *Ora* is generally taken as *hora*, with which *die* (from *diu*) might seem to accord, if it could be shown that the trumpeting Triton was part of a mechanical device for indicating time. If *duc* of *C* best represents the manuscript tradition, Munro's *duci* is very near: he explained *duci* either of the commanding officer in a *naumachia* such as Claudius exhibited on lake Fucinus, or of the Roman Emperor himself. *Hildebrandt*, *Beiträge* p. 16, thinks Claudius (Suet. Claud. 21, Plin. xxxiii. 63) is meant; both Statius and Martial use *dux* of the *princeps*; for the dative *Hild.* cites Plin. viii. 22 *pugnauere et Caesari dictatori . . . xx (elephanti) contra pedites D.* But *ora* can hardly mean the shore of the lake where the sham sea-fight took place, as *Hild.* goes on to suggest; nor is *lacus* for *duc* or *diu* a probable alteration.

Hora would be less strange in the sense of the hour *when the fight was to begin*; this would suit with *duci*, not as *principi*, but as 'presiding officer.' The abl. *Tritone canoro* nearly = *per canorem Tritonis*; the position of *canoro* at the end of the v. shows it to be the determining word. We might then translate: 'just as the hour of battle is sounded to the general by the trumpeting tones of the Triton.' Another explanation is suggested by Vitruv. ix. 8 (9). 6, where he describes some of Ctesibius' automatic machines, including chronometers (*horologia*). The hours were marked on a column or front-wall, and each successively indi-

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cated by a small figure which came out at the bottom and pointed with a wand to the hour. This figure might be the *dux* of 292, if we suppose a Triton trumpeting to this *indicator* simultaneously with the egress of the figure as the hour arrived.

[My own suggestion *urna ciens Tritona canorum* is based on *sonatura dius tritona canoro* of *Val.* 3272. The accus. *tritona* is also in *Rehd.* and *Arund.* The hydraulic machine described by our poet might, I think, be called *urna*, a word of wide extension, and not inapplicable to a contrivance in which water played a leading part. And such a vessel, as containing the machinery which made the Triton sound, might be said to set the Triton in motion (*ciens Tritona*)¹.]

Tritone, Suet. Claud. 21 fin. *Hoc spectaculo classis Sicula et Rhodia concurrerunt, duodenarum trirremium singulae, exciente bucina Tritone argenteo, qui e medio lacu per machinam emererat.* Triton was regularly represented blowing a conch.

293 *Pellit*, an asyndeton. As Conington observes on G. iii. 196 the description passes from the main point of the comparison to collateral details. *Pellit* does not introduce an apodosis, but the description proceeds independently. *opus*, the machinery, or more exactly, the *action* of the different forces combined to produce the trumpeting. [*moueri* for *mouere* seems to me almost necessary, as it is the action of the water on the air which is emphasized. Publil. Optatianus, however, in his hexameter description of a water-organ (20) says, *unda latens prope-rantibus incita uentis*, which would correspond to *uictus mouere spiritus*.] *collectus aquae*, 'a body of water,' is Lucretian, iv. 414 *At collectus aquae digitum non altior unum*, and need not imply any large amount of water.

294 *longas*: a word specially used in connexion with *mugire*, Prop. iv. 10. 9 *Aruaque mugitu sancite boaria longo*.

295 *cortina* was explained by Scaliger (reading *theatri*) of

¹ It is less probable that *ora* is an error for *ara* = *βωπλονος* of Heron's *Pneumatica* 228; Serv. on Aen. vii. 26 *motu aquae uentus creatur ut uidemus in bomis* (most MSS. *bonis*, some *bolnis*) *organorum*, where *βωπλονς* seems clearly meant.

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the vaulted or domed ceiling in a theatre, and Gudeman on Tac. Dial. 19 *cum uix in cortina quisquam adsistat* ('a circular space in the court-room, which was occupied by the general public') still holds to this view, translating it 'the auditorium of a theatre.' Wernsdorf was the first to suggest that the words *Imparibus numerosa modis canit arte regentis* must refer to a musical instrument, and that the various descriptions of the *hydraulis*, or water-organ, coincide sufficiently with the whole of 295-297 to make it all but certain that the *cortina* is identical with this instrument. Besides, *C* and *Rehd.* give *magnis c. theatris*, *S* has *magnisque*. *v* alone has *theatri*: and Alzinger shows that *magnis theatris* is Lucretian iv. 74, vi. 109. Suetonius (Ner. 41) states that Nero had a passion for these hydraulic instruments, and not only spent a large part of a day in examining new and unknown forms of them, but exhibited and discussed the various improvements, promising to produce all of them in *the theatre*. Again (54), he engaged to appear in the public games as a performer on the water-organ. From this it is clear that they were capable of producing a very loud sound; but the shape, size, arrangement of tubes, &c., of course varied infinitely. The invention is ascribed to Ctesibius, an Alexandrian barber and contemporary of Ptolemy Euergetes: the earliest description is by his pupil Heron (*Pneumatica* 227, p. 192 ed. W. Schmidt). Vitruvius attempts, not very successfully, to make the mechanism intelligible (de Archit. x. 8. 13). Athenaeus (174) has a shorter account: *ἐντατὸν οὖν καὶ καθαπτὸν οὐκ ἂν νομισθείη· ἐμπνευστὸν δ' ἂν ἴσως ῥηθείη διὰ τὸ ἐμπνεῖσθαι τὸ ὄργανον ὑπὸ τοῦ αἵρος. κατεστραμμένοι γάρ εἰσιν οἱ αὐλοὶ εἰς τὸ ὕδωρ καὶ ἀρασσομένου τοῦ ὕδατος ὑπὸ τινος νεανίσκου, ἔτι δὲ δικκονυμένων ἀξινῶν (al. ἀξονίων) διὰ τοῦ ὀργάνου, ἐμπνέονται οἱ αὐλοὶ καὶ ἤχον ἀποτελοῦσι προσηνῇ· ἔοικε δὲ τὸ ὄργανον βωμῷ στρογγύλῳ.* Besides the representation of a *hydraulis* (first figured in Tristan's *Commentaires Historiques*, i. p. 219, and repeated in the *Dict. of Antiquities*, ed. 2) on a medal of the Emperor Nero¹, we now

¹ Mr. H. Grüber, who kindly sent me casts of two of these supposed Neronian contorniates in the British Museum, assures me that,

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possess a larger and clearer delineation in a mosaic found at Nennig, not far from Trèves, published at Bonn by Wilmowsky, 1864/5. To judge from these and the figure in Heron's *Pneumatica* (227), the organ, to the eye, presented two distinct parts, a lower case or box into which the water was poured, and which contained the mechanism for making it act on the air to be conveyed to the tubes, and above it a series of bronze pipes, generally (but not in the Nennig mosaic) ascending in gradationally adjusted lengths. In the mosaic, the performer is stationed on the side of the instrument turned away from the spectator, over which his head is figured rising: his feet and hands are not seen, but the impression given by the mosaic is that he is playing on keys, and that his feet do not touch the ground. The shape of the case both in the coin and the mosaic is hexahedral, whereas Heron's name for it, *βωμίσκος*, might rather seem to point to a circular shape, such as was frequent in small altars: but this is a detail which may well have varied with different makers.

296 *Imparibus modis*: the height of the tubes is unequal, as each rises above the next, like a Pan's pipe; the *modi* similarly. This is very distinctly stated in the Latin poem describing a hydraulis¹ of Publilius Porphyrius Optatianus, best given in Pithou's *Epigrammata et Poematia uetera* 'ex vetustissimo codice Franc. Iureti,' p. 243, ed. 1590. It contains twenty-six hexameters, the first having twenty-five letters, the second twenty-six, and so on to the last, which has fifty; the whole thus representing in its gradual crescendo the series of tubes which form the sounding part of the organ: 15, 16 *Perque modos gradibus surget fecunda*² *sonoris Aere cauo et tereti calamis crescentibus aucta*; also by Claudian Paneg. Manl. Theodor. 316 (p. 187 Birt) quoted by Scaliger, *Et*

though they bear the head of Nero, they were not made till the beginning of the fourth century. See Wroth on Contorniates in *Dict. of Antiquities* (1890).

¹ Publilius belongs to the reign of Constantine, about 320 A. D.

² Rather perhaps *facunda*: cf. Gell. xi. 13. 10 *ne uos facile praestringeret modulatus aliqui currentis facundiae sonitus*.

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*qui magna leui detrudens murmura tactu Innumeras uoces
segetis moderatus aenae Intonet erranti digito, penitusque
(pedibusque, Dempster) trabali Vecte laborantes in carmina
concitet undas.*

arte regentis. There can be no doubt that the 'skill of the controller' refers mainly to playing on keys. These are mentioned in Heron's description of the hydraulis: *ὅταν βουλώμεθα τινὰς τῶν αὐλῶν φθέγγεσθαι, κατὰξομεν τοῖς δακτύλοις τὰ κατ' ἐκείνους ἀγκωνίσκια· ὅταν δὲ μηκέτι φθέγγεσθαι βουλώμεθα, ἐπαροῦμεν τοὺς δακτύλους καὶ τότε παύσονται τῶν πωμάτων ἐξελευσθέντων*¹. Claudian expressly mentions the fingers (*erranti digito*) and even their action in depressing the keys (*detrudens*) lightly: and the writers of the article *Hydraulis* in the *Dict. of Antiq.* ed. 2 (Yates and Wayte) state, 'There is sufficient evidence that the instrument was keyed and gave scope to the skill of the performer.'

297 impellens: setting air in motion by agitating the water. For this purpose in the more powerful organs bellows were used large enough to tax the strength of young men. Publilius Optatianus 20 *Sub quibus unda latens properantibus incita uentis Quos uicibus crebris iuuenum labor haud sibi discors Hinc atque hinc animaeque agitant*, a description which seems to suit a larger organ than the writer of *Aetna* has in view. *subremigat*, probably with a pedal: Munro writes, 'Can the words imply here "he rows below upon the water," i.e. while he is playing above with his hands, he is moving something below with his feet, which sets the water in motion?' Such a double action of the hands and feet would be not inconsistent with the position of the organ-player in the Nennig mosaic. *unda* is the same abl. as in Vergil's *tacitis subremigat undis*, *Aen.* x. 227, 'in' not 'with' (Sudhaus) the water. Silius Italicus has *eremigare* of a swan, xiv. 191, 192

¹ 'When we require any of the pipes to sound, we must depress the corresponding key with the fingers; and when we require any of the sounds to cease, remove the fingers, whereupon the lids will be drawn out and the pipes will cease to sound.' Woodcroft, tr. of Heron's *Pneumatics*, p. 106.

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Innatat albus olor pronoque immobile corpus Dat fluvio et pedibus¹ tacitas eremigat undas.

298 *summota*, 'rudely dislodged.' The word is used of the lictor forcing the crowd to move out of the way; Hor. C. ii. 16. 9 *neque consularis Summouet lictor miseros tumultus Mentis*. Munro constructs *furens* in close connexion with *summota*, 'maddened at being dislodged by the torrents of water,' and in any case *torrentibus* looks like a substantive, not a participle, and must mean, I think, *water*; but why should not the air be described as first *furens torrentibus*, 'raging' with these waters, i.e. with the agitation they produce; then *summota*, rudely driven from its place, and so reduced to a state of conflict? Sudhaus, in view of *torrentes auras* (291), makes *torrentibus* = 'hot airs,' which by reciprocal action drive again upwards the descending moister (*uda*) air, appealing to Strato's explanation of earthquakes as produced by the alternation of hot and cold air-strata inside the earth. Against this is (1) that *uda* (sc. *aura*) which Sudh. reads in 290 for *una* of MSS. is awkward and improbable, (2) *torrentibus* (sc. *auris*) in 298, though the preceding *torrentes auras* makes it somewhat easier, is at best obscure, leaving us to infer from *aura* itself the abl. with which *torrentibus* agrees.

299 *commurmurat*, mutters with the *aura*, if we may trust the tendency of the word to express a noise made by more than one, 'ein allgemeines Gemurmel,' as Georges says, Lex. s. v. *commurmuratio*, e.g. storks, Plin. x. 62. There is, however, no such notion in Sil. xv. 821 *clauso commurmurat ore*: Varro and Cicero use the deponent of muttering with or to oneself.

300 *Credendum est*, Cic. Tim. xi. 1 *Credendum nimirum est ueteribus*.

302 Baehrens' *premant* for *cremant* of MSS., and my *turbam* for *turbant* of C, are natural and easy corrections. *turbam*, 'crowding,' a Lucretian use of the word 'jostling.' The accus. depends on *fugiant*.

¹ *pedibus* here is very like *pedibusque* which Dempster conjectured in Claud. Paneg. Manl. Theod. 318, where Birt's MSS. have *penitusque*.

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303 *in uacuum*, rather with *Elisa* than *fugiant*.

304 *Momine*, 'moving-power,' as in *Lucr. iii. 188, 189 Momine uti paruo possint impulsa moueri. Namque mouetur aqua et tantillo momine flutat*; *vi. 474 Posse quoque e salso consurgere momine ponti*.

[Sudhaus writes the passage thus :

Vt, cum densa premunt inter se corpora, turbant,

Elisa in uacuum fugiunt et proxima secum

Momina tota trahunt tutaque in sede resistunt.

explaining *ut*, 'as for example,' and co-ordinating *turbant, fugiunt, trahunt, resistunt*. Thus *momina tota* = the whole of the moving-forces or elastic air-particles immediately about the *densa inter se prementia corpora*. In this, besides the strange sense given to *momina*¹, the awkwardness of the whole structure of the sentence, and the extreme obscurity of the statement, appear to me fatal.]

306 *cum surgere* Baehrens for *consurgere* of *CS*; so in *Sen. Cons. ad Helv. xvi. 4*, ed. Gertz *numquam tibi placuit uestis quae nihil amplius nudaret, cum poneretur*, the Ambrosian MS. (*A*), which Gertz thinks cannot be much later than the beginning of the eleventh century and may be much earlier, gives *componeretur*. The correction is by Lipsius. [Most edd. with Munro retain the alteration of Ald. 1517 *Principiisque*: and it is true that Vergil has *consurgunt uenti*, *Aen. v. 20*.]

307 *penitusque cauernas* Vergilian, *Aen. ii. 19* (Alzinger).

308 *Prouehere* is retained by Sudhaus, sc. *animas*, 'push out airs,' which involves too harsh a change from active to passive, *non dubium est cauernas (prouehere propinquas animas) easque diffugere impellique*; nor can *prouehere* well mean 'stossen aus.' *Proruere*, 'tumble forward,' suits the description, and is like *Tac. Ann. xv. 22 motu terrae . . . oppidum Pompei (so M) magna ex parte proruit* (Munro).

310-314 seem based on *Lucr. vi. 476 sqq. Praeterea fluuiis ex omnibus et simul ipsa Surgere de terra nebulas aestumque*

¹ The existence of a plur. *momina* was questioned by Munro: yet it seems a plausible correction in *Lucr. vi. 48* for *omnia*.

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uidemus, Quae uelut halitus hinc ita sursum expressa feruntur Suffunduntque sua caelum caligine et altas Sufficiunt nubis paulatim conueniundo.

310 *nebulae effundere*, sc. animas. Baehrens' conjecture *se effundere* is a clever amalgam of the last letter of *nebulae*, the first of *effundere*.

311 *solent*, sc. *nebulae*. *adluit* Haupt, for *abluit*, no doubt rightly. Nettleship, *Contributions to Latin Lexicography*, s. v. cites Varr. R. R. iii. 14. 2 *adluant quorum radices lacus ac fluiui*.

312 *caligat*. Seneca in a very similar passage, where however he is trying to show that wind is *distinct* from cloud and mist, N. Q. v. 3. 2 (quoted by Le Clerc) uses nearly the same language: *Adice nunc quod circa flumina et lacus frequens nebula est artatis congestisque corporibus, neque tamen uentus est. interdum uero multa caligo effunditur, ut conspectum in uicino stantium eripiat.*

313 Or again water-ducts convey draughts of air, which nearly amount to wind: the conciseness of the poet makes his language obscure. *Flumina parua* is explained by Munro of the *riui* taken from the *amnis* and distributed for irrigation over the fields. It is not, I think, certain that he still has in view the *amnis* of 311: he seems to be speaking more generally of any small channel of water. *uis*, i.e. *harum aurarum*, 'currents of air from water' (Munro).

314 *Eminus adspirat fortis et uerberat humor*. C.
[fōtis v: perhaps *fontis*.]

Munro explains: 'humor adspirat fortes auras et uerberibus impellit, thus increasing their force; Aen. v. 607 *uentosque adspirat eunti*.' In this *fortis* seems to me too vague: it suggests rather than supplies the object meant, namely *auras*.

By reading *fontis* a direct object accusative is obtained for *adspirat*, 'moisture from a distance blows jets of water (on the air-currents) and works them (the *aurae*) into violence.' *fontis* are the several springs or sources from which the moisture is discharged.

[It does not seem possible to make *adspirat fortis* = *adspirat in eas et fortis facit*, for (i) such a construction of *adspirare* is

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unsupported, (2) such a proleptic use of the adj. is inadmissible. Nor can *fortis* be constructed proleptically with *uerberat*, 'lashes them into vigorous action.' Least of all can *fortis* be nom. sing. agreeing with *umor* (Sudhaus), which is against metre.]

315 *in uacuo*, in free open space, where nature is not shut in.

rorum Jacob for *rerum*. Munro on Lucr. i. 496 shows that *ros* is used by Lucretius for water or moisture generally, and both he and Haupt accept Jacob's emendation, which certainly avoids the awkwardness of supplying *fontes* or *umores* in 316. Yet such changes of subject are quite in the style of *Aetna*, and Walter urges with some force in support of the MS. reading *rerum* the precisely similar *ipsa potentia rerum* in Manil. i. 36. *rerum* would then = 'natural forces'; the masc. nom. agreeing with *clusi* must be supplied from *fontis* or *umor*, unless indeed the poet returns to the *winds* themselves, which, as the most potent agents, would naturally have a predominant place in his thoughts.

317-319

His agitur causis extra penitusque coactus
Exagitant uentos pugnant infaucibus arte
Pugnantis suffocat iter. C.

coactis *v* Rehd. Arund. coactos Munro coactu *the present editor*.

The difficulty of these vv. centres in *coactus*. Jacob was the first to retain *coactus* as a nom. plur. = compulsions 'demonstrat enim omnium uentorum motum aliunde oriri, neque sponte mouendi se facultatem eis concedit.' Lately Hildebrandt (*Philologus* for 1897, p. 98) and Sudhaus have returned to this nom. plur., writing the passage thus :

His agitur causis extra penitusque : coactus
Exagitant uentos ; pugnant in faucibus ; arte
Pugnantis suffocat iter.

Hild. compares the similar plurals, *accessus*, *actus* (*abactus*, *adactus*), *adfectus*, *auctus*, *deiectus*, *discessus*, *effectus*, *flexus*, *receptus*, *tactus* ; and Sudh. translates *coactus*, 'condensations,' comparing 563 *pressoque instigant agmine uentum*. The objection to this

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is that *coactus* elsewhere seems to be singular = 'compulsion,' 'compelling force,' and is not used in the sense of 'condensations.' Lucr. ii. 273 *Viribus alterius magnis magnoque coactu*, 'strong compulsion' (Munro): and so in Cicero. If *coactus* as nom. pl. is thought hazardous, the choice seems to lie between *coactis* (sc. *causis*), 'by these causes, pressed into united service outside and within, the work is done,' or *coactu*, 'by their compelling force they (sc. *causae*) set the winds in motion.' Between *coactis* and *coactu*, the poet's fondness for a pause after the trochee of the fifth foot, and a certain harshness in the abruptness of *Exagitant uentos*, if it begins the verse, appear to me to decide the point in favour of *coactu*.

[Munro's *coactos* cannot well be constructed with *penitusque* alone (*His a. c. extra, penitusque coactos Exagitant uentos*), which dislocates the verse and gives *coactos* a somewhat vague meaning.]

317 *agitur* impersonal, 'the business is done.' Aen. vii. 523 *non iam Stipitibus duris agitur*, and cf. the legal formula *agitur de hac re, quo de agitur, qua de re agitur* (Nettleship).

318 *Exagitant*, sc. *causae*. So 369 *egestas*, 602 *Iuppiter*, 180 *mons* and elsewhere (Hildebrandt).

pugnant, sc. *uenti*. *arte* with *Pugnantis* nearly = *in arto*.

319 *suffocat*, Lucretian, iii. 891 *aut in melle situm suffocari*. The writer of the *Ibis* has *praefocare* (558), Florus *offocare*. *profundo*, abl. after *exhausta*, the preposition in which has its full force.

320 *perbibit*: another word of the *Ibis* (231), 'has absorbed completely.' Also of Seneca.

322-324

Haud secus adstrictus certamine tangitur ictu

Spiritus inuoluensque suo sibi pondere uires

Densa per ardentes exercet corpora uires. C.

323 *rupes Munro* for *uires* 324 is omitted in *Rehd.* at its proper place and inserted after 342 *uires*] *neruos v uenas Ald. and Le Clerc* *gyros* the present editor.

322 *ictu*, Sen. N. Q. vi. 14. 2 *cum aliquid peccatur, tum uelut aegri corporis motus est, spiritu illo qui modestius perfluebat, icto uehementius et quassante uenas suas*.

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In 323 *pondus* and *uires* are regarded as coexistent: sometimes they are opposed, much weight, little strength. Sen. N. Q. vi. 10. 2 *cum plus habuere ponderis quam uirium*, of buildings which collapse from over-weight.

324 is right except in the last word which cannot have been *uires*. *uenas* of Ald. 'the pores' or 'passages' of Aetna makes good sense, but is far from certain. *gyros*, which I suggested (*Journ. of Philology* for 1895, p. 15), would mean that the air-particles (*corpora*) are driven round in circles, Lucr. vi. 200-202; but I do not know that this would be possible under the narrow conditions of space which the poet has in view. Seneca, however, says, N. Q. vi. 14. 3 *Vide ergo numquid in illam intret spiritus ex circumfuso aere, qui quamdiu habet exitum, sine iniuria labitur: si offendit aliquid et incidit quod uiam claudat, tunc oneratur primo infundente se a tergo aere. deinde per aliquam rimam maligne fugit et hoc acrius fertur quo angustius. id sine pugna non potest fieri, nec pugna sine motu. at si ne rimam quidem per quam effluat inuenit, conglobatus illic furit et huc atque illo circumagitur aliaque deicit alia intercidit.*

[Munro, retaining *uires* at the end of 324, constructs *per* with *densa corpora*, against the natural order of the words.]

325 *transit*, passes without noticing or allowing itself to be impeded in its course. This is more likely than 'outstrips' in speed, a sense found in Vergil, Aen. v. 326, xi. 719. *morantem*, 'some delaying air': it is doubtful whether actively 'delaying the course of the *spiritus*,' or 'sluggish' *ignauum* of Seneca v. 14. 2, quoted by Sudh., *Per haec loca cum se exitum quaerens spiritus torsit, accendat flammam ipso adfrictu¹ necesse est: deinde flammis latius fuis, etiamsi quid ignauis aeris erat, extenuatum moueri et uiam cum fremitu uasto atque impetu quaerere.*

326 *confluuo*, 'das Zusammenströmen an einer Stelle,' Sudh. Lucr. vi. 311 *cum uementi perculit ictu, Confluere ex ipso possunt*

¹ So most editors: but the Merton codex 250 has *adstrictu*, 'compression.' This suggests that *adstrictus* in 322 may be genitive of the substantive, and depend on *certamine*.

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elementa uaporis. siponibus (not *siph*) both *C* and *S*. The word is said to come from Egyptian *sif*, 'to imbibe,' siphons having been used for drawing off liquids from a cask (Rich, *Companion*, p. 605). Here *sipones* are the forcing pumps or tubes used as fire-engines for pumping up water (Munro, who quotes Plin. Ep. x. 33 (42). 2 and Plin. H. N. ii. 166 *aqua etiam in summis iugis erumpente, quo (= ad quem locum) spiritui acta et terrae pondere expressa siponum modo emicat*. Rich gives a picture of such a machine, p. 606. Seneca illustrates the action of the siphon, N. Q. ii. 16 *Solemus manibus inter se iunctis aquam concipere et compressa utrinque palma in modum siponis* (so cod. Mertonensis 250) *exprimere*, by pressing the palms together the water held between them is squeezed out (Jacob). Fronto, p. 159 *Naber Aquae de sipunculis concinnius saliant*.

327 *uomit*, 'absolutely,' like ἐμείβω, 'spews.' But the absence of an accusative is noticeable, and in poetry rare.

328-330

Quod si forte putas isdem decurre uentos

Faucibus autque idem pulsus remeare notanda;
s. sunt

Res oculis locus ipse dabit coetque negare. *C*.

328 decurrer *S* which has been cut off here 329 autque
(atque *Rehd.*) idem pulsus *S* *Rehd.* Perhaps ac per idem pulsos
notanda *Rehd.*: notandas *v*.

The corrupt autque idem pulsus must be of very early date, as found in both C and S, and the superscribed s. sunt is coeval with the other writing of C. The Paris edition of 1507, has atque isdem pulsos, and this has long been the received reading.

It is not certain: I suggest

aut	}	per idem pulsos, 'or are driven out and return by the same vent.'
ac		

332 Most edd., as well as lexicons, including Forcellini and Georges, make *iubar* masc. here, agreeing with *aureus*. Haupt, in a note on the short treatise *de generibus nominum* included in his edition of Grattius' and Nemesianus' *Cynegetica*, where the statement occurs *Iubar generis masculini, ut illud 'iubar splendidus'*, supports this from Ennius, *albus iubar* (Ann. 94 L. Müller), and an epigram Anth. L. 197. 4 *Riese aureus iubar*.

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I find it difficult to believe that so careful a writer as our poet should have admitted so startling an archaism, and incline to make *aureus* agree with *aether*: then *surgat* = 'dawn,' the poet transferring to the sky the word which properly belongs to morning. [Manil. i. 389, Sil. iii. 659 are not enough to support *surgat* as *active*¹.]

333 *Illinc* ab eo loco, i.e. the crater of Aetna. A similar cloud is stated by the Schol. on Ap. Rhod. iii. 41 as seen hovering over the flame-discharging crater of the volcanic island Hieræ.

334 *Pigra* as 'only moving slowly if it move at all.' Strabo 274 calls it *νέφος ἡρεμούν*, implying that it was or seemed usually to be quiescent. *defuso*, 'rainy' or 'dripping,' so *umida*.

335 *Prospectant* sublimis opus uastusque receptus. C.

Prospectans Munro uas . . . *S*, the rest of the v. torn away :
uastosque Rehd. *receptus Rehd. v.*

Munro's prospectans is a clear gain, in every way superior to *Prospectat* of the earlier editors including Haupt, who inverted 334, 335. Whether *receptus* should be kept, is not so clear. MSS. agree in giving it, and Vergil's *Planities ignota iacet tutique receptus*, Aen. xi. 527, Statius' *placuit sedes fidiq̄ue receptus*, Theb. vii. 443, have a certain resemblance. But in both passages the epithets point to the meaning, a safe, trusty retreat, i.e. as Serv. on Aen. xi. 527 *quo se tuto exercitus recipit*; whereas in the v. of *Aetna* it could only mean 'withdrawing places,' i.e. where a fissure in the side of the mountain recedes inwardly, presenting to the eye an enormous chasm. Forc. and Georges cite no parallel; yet as *recipere se* or *recipere* neut. has the general sense of ἀναχωρεῖν, 'to retire,' it does not seem impossible that the plural *receptus* may have been borrowed by our poet from Vergil, at the same time

¹ In Silius' *Africus aut pontum surgens super aethera Caurus*, the Oxford MS. has *surgens*, but the two best MSS. *L* and *F* *spargens*, which might suggest that *spargat* has been corrupted into *surgat* in Aetn. 332. In Manil. i. 389 *surgentem sidera* is in the Gemblacensis and all Bechert's MSS. except *M* (*Matritensis*), which has *s. ad sidera*.

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that he gave it a different sense. Serv. expressly condemns those who read *recessus* in Aen. xi. 527; here *receptus* can hardly be said to be pronouncedly right or wrong, and as such I retain it. [Forc. indeed states that the two words are found frequently interchanged; but though *recessus* may have supplanted *receptus* in not a few cases, it seems dangerous to assume that the former word can be substituted for it *ad libitum* and against MSS.]

336 uidet, 'has no eye for,' 'takes no heed of.' In the *Journ. of Philology* for 1887, p. 302, I defended this as right, and I see that Sudhaus retains it; it would fall under the tendency to *personify* natural objects, which Hildebrandt notices as characterizing the poem.

[Haupt conj. *bibit*, Munro *uorat*, Unger *ueget*, the present editor *mouet*.]

337 One of the poet's happiest lines. The rhythm admirably expresses the rapid changes of position which the cloud assumes.

338-9 This is a distinct assertion of a custom which we learn also from Pausanias iii. 23. 9 of the craters of Aetna being frequented by worshippers. The poet says they offered *incense*: Paus. says they let down into them (*εἰς τοὺς κρατῆρας ἀφιᾶσι*) victims of all kinds, as well as things made of gold or silver. From *placantes* it might seem that this was done after an eruption, or when an eruption was expected. Frazer, in his note on the passage, rejects the view that Paus. confuses the crater of Aetna with the naphtha lakes of the Palici; and illustrates such offerings to the volcano from the modern custom of the Hawaiians. 'In Hawaii vast numbers of hogs used to be thrown into the craters of the great volcano Kirauea during an eruption, or when an eruption was threatening: hogs, too, were cast into the rolling tide of lava to appease the gods and stay its progress.' With *placantes* cf. Vergil's *placabilis ara Palici*, and Freeman, *Hist. of Sicily*, i. 517 sqq.

339, 340 are written in C thus

Summo cerne iugo uel qua liberrimus aethna

Inprospectus hiat.

339 aethnae *Rehd. Ar.*: Aetnae *Haupt* 340 Inpro-
spectus *S Rehd. Ar.*: Introspectus *Schrader.*

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Inprospectus was explained by Scal. as 'ad quam prospectus hominum peruenire non potest'; Aeschylus' ἀνθρώδευκτος πέτρα, Supp. 794, 'even where Aetna opens most unobstructedly beyond human ken.' Wernsdorf supposed it to mean, the part of the mountain where the chasm opens so deep down that the eye cannot reach to the bottom, which should rather be *indespectus*: as the passage he quotes, Stat. S. i. 1. 88, shows. On either view *Aetna* must be masc.

Aetna is always *feminine* elsewhere: the passage of Solinus v. 9 cited by Munro as proving it masc. is a very weak voucher. *Eminet montibus Aetna et Eryce, Vulcano Aetna sacer est, Eryx Veneri*, for the word *montibus* determines *sacer*, and there is no other instance in Solinus where it is masc. I venture to doubt whether it *could* have been so used by the poet, who avoids with religious scrupulousness such deviations from Vergil and the other great poets who preceded him, and who elsewhere always makes *Aetna* feminine.

In Schrader's *Introspectus* we have a nom. to *liberrimus* at which Vergil himself could not cavil, formed on the model of *adspectus, conspectus, despectus, prospectus, suspectus, circum-spectus*, 'a look inside.' This word was accepted both by Haupt and Munro, and seems to me unexceptionable. It is not unlikely that Haupt was also right in preferring *Aetnae* of *Rehd. Ar.* to C's *Aetna*: but the abl. is possible 'on Aetna.'

340 *tantarum semina rerum* Lucretian, as Alzinger shows.

341 *flammas* is open to doubt as against the poet's use in two ways, (1) by being in apposition with *semina*, which is too far from it, (2) flame is not treated as the most prominent agent in eruptions, but *spiritus*, air, under which as *magno sub duce* fire performs its subaltern's duty (*militat*) 217. Hence I conj. *flammas*; the nom. participle is frequently found with *n* omitted, as shown at length by Corssen (*Aussprache*, i. 252 sqq.) from Inscr. and MSS., cf. my note on Catull. xxxix. 18.

342-349

Huius igitur credis torrens ut spiritus illi
 Qui rupes terramque notat qui fulminat ignes
 Cum rexit uires et preceps flexit habenas,
 Praesertim ipsa suo decliua pondere numquam

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Corpora diripiant ualidoque absolueret arcu
 Quod si fallor adest species tantusque ruinis
 Impetus adtentos oculorum trans fugit ictus
 Nec leuitas tantos igitur ferit aura mouetque. C.

342 Huicne the present editor for Huic See Munro on Catull.
 29. 20 343 rotat Jacob convincingly 345 decliua Rehd.
 and Arund.: decliua v: declinia the present editor 346
 diripiat Rehd.: deripiat Le Clerc absoluerit Scaliger 347
 ni Rehd. Ar.: nisi v.

Munr. conj. tantusque ruinaest Impetus, adtentos oculorum
 transfugit ictus Haec leuitas; tantos igitur ferit aura mouetque,
 followed by a lacuna of one v. *Birt conj.* Haec lapides for Nec
 leuitas. *The present editor* tantusne ruinis Impetus adtentos o. t.
 ictus, Nec leuis astantes igitur ferit aura mouetque?

Huicne seems to account for the *Huic* of C, and is clearer as
 reasoning than *Huic*= 'will you not believe on the showing of
 this fact?' See Sonnenschein on Rud. 1184. *declinia*, not
decliua, suits the required idea, pieces of rock tending down-
 wards by their natural weight: it is not the slope, but the
 downward inclination which is intended. See Heinsius on
 Ov. F. iii. 793, Claud. iii. Consul. Honor. 178.

342 *torrens* in combination with *spiritus* is not far removed
 from our idea of *gas*.

ut is explained by Sudh. 'how,' as in Hor. S. ii. 2. 71 *nam*
uariarum res (diversity of foods) *Vt noceant homini, credas*; Lucr.
 vi. 132 *Est etiam ratio, cum uenti nubila perflant, Vt sonitus*
*faciant*¹. With this fact of the calm on Aetna's summit before
 you, you will see how it is that the *spiritus*, which produces
 such powerful effects when in excitement, fails to dislodge any
 part of the crater (*ualido abs. arcu*) when quiescent.

The reasoning of the poet, I think, may point to a different
 view. 'Can you, with this calm at Aetna's summit before you,
 believe it to be impossible that the volcano has a stronger and
 weaker action, corresponding to its two states of excitement

¹ Birt also makes *ut* = *quomodo*, paraphrasing thus: 'Iam intel-
 legis quomodo spiritus Aetnae corpora, praesertim cum ipsa suo
 pondere decliua sint, numquam deripiat neque umquam ea absoluat
 ab arcu suo ualido.'

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and repose? If in excitement it whirls up masses of rock and discharges fire with a detonating roar, may it not, in subsidence, be strong enough sometimes to dislodge portions of rock, availing itself of the natural tendency of rocks to fall in? Analyzed, the words would = 'Huic igitur sic credis ut neq[ue] spiritum cum rexit uires, posse corpora materiae deripere et ab rupium arcu absoluere?' Or, *Huicne credis ut numquam diripiat* may = 'Can you believe, on the showing of this, the impossibility of the *spiritus*, when in a milder form, tearing down masses of rock? Cf. the use of *ut* after *uerisimile non est* in Verr. iv. 6. 11 *Verisimile non est ut ille anteponeret*.

illi of MSS. may be a mistake for *ille* (Scal.), but is more probably a dative, sc. *Aetnae*. Such a dat. would be Lucretian, and so perhaps *ruinis Impetus*, 347¹. Walter observes that *spiritus illi* is also in Aen. v. 648.

343 *rotat*, as in 210.

344 *rexit*, has controlled, not allowing the *uires* to work unchecked.

praeceps, with sudden haste; Aen. v. 565 *Non fugis hinc praeceps?*

flexit habenas, Aen. xii. 471.

345 *Praesertim* I construct with *declinia*, 'and this when,' 'the more so, that.' Lucr. vi. 335 *natura pondera deorsum Omnia nituntur*.

346 Scal. rightly, 'dissoluit a suo fornice suspensum quasi fornicibus solum, id est cauernosum'; and so Munro, 'tear down the *cauernae*.' Sudh. makes *ualido arcu* the strong curve of the crater; but it may be doubted whether this would have been expressed in words which so little suggest such a meaning.

347-349, owing to the obvious corruption of 349, are very obscure. Munro's view that a verse is lost after 349 is improbable, for that verse has every appearance of being the conclusion of an argument. Metrically it is very like 337, which also is complete in itself. It is equally improbable that *tantus*, *adientos*, *tantos* should follow each other in three sequent verses.

¹ Birt analyzes *torrens sp. illi* as *sp. qui torret illi*.

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My own correction (following the line of argument suggested on 342) is an argument by means of a composite question. If the impetuous descent of earth and stones, which we know to happen on the sides of Aetna, is often beyond our observation, may we not similarly conclude that there are causes of volcanic action which are beyond our ken, e.g. inward draughts of air suddenly impinging on others and setting them in motion? I suppose *tantusque* to be an error for *tantusne* (somewhat as in 357 *propriisque* of *C Rehd. Ar.* is an error for *propriisue*) and *leuitas tantos* a corruption of *leuis astantes* (sc. *auras*, obtained from *aura*). This sense of *ruinis*, 'falling débris,' agrees with the ordinary use of the word; but it is open to the objection that the passage contains no previous allusion to any such fall of rocks. For the position of *igitur* cf. *Lucr. iv. 204 Quid quae sunt igitur iam prima fronte parata?*

347 *Quod si* of *C* is more likely than *Quod nisi* or *Quod ni* of the inferior MSS. *Quod nisi*, and to a less extent *Quod ni*, are found in Cicero, but *Quod nisi* does not occur in Caesar or Sallust, and is hardly classical. (*Dräger, Histor. Synt. ii. 490.*) The correspondence, noticed by Walter, with *Aen. v. 49 dies, nisi fallor, adest*, hardly proves much. *adest species*, I appeal to what we see.

ruinis cannot well mean the precipitations or rapid descents (plural) of the winds. Munro who, if I rightly understand him, so interprets, writes *tantusque ruinaest Impetus* in the singular. Yet in itself *ruinis* after *Impetus* has a genuine look and would be quite Lucretian, as Munr. shows on vi. 729 *caput ei*; 643 *Finitimis ad se conuertit gentibus ora*; 636 *ad caput amnibus*; also in v. 270: i. 58 *genitalia corpora rebus*. If the poet wrote *ruinis*, he must, I think, have meant something like the fall of masses of earth and stone, which from a distance escapes the strongest vision, yet there is else no reference to this.

349 The one thing in this verse which is certain is that the concluding clause did not begin with *igitur*. Such a collocation would certainly have been rejected by our poet as barbarous. On the other hand the position of *igitur* after three preceding words is shown by Hand, *Tursell. iii. p. 198* to be not unfre-

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quent in Cicero. Cf. Mayor on de Nat. Deor. iii. 17. 43; and so in Lucr. In my emendation, *astantes*, sc. auras, means the draughts of air within the mountain which are waiting ready to be acted upon by the sudden gust (*levis aura*) that is to set them in motion.

350 *Sparsa liquore manus*. Scal. quotes Claud. vi. Cons. Honorii 324 *Lustralem tum rite facem, cui lumen odorum Sulpure caeruleo nigroque bitumine fumat, Circum membra rotat doctus purganda sacerdos Rore pio spargens*, in which, however, the water is sprinkled by the priest on the limbs he is to purify, not on his own hand as in the verse of *Aetna*.

351 *tamen*, though naturally a lighted torch could not be in such near contact with the human face without hurting.

pulsata, I do not understand: in Postgate's *C. P. L.* 3. p. 72 I conj. *frustrata*, 'baffled,' i.e. without producing their natural effect: *quassata* might also be suggested. *corpora*, Plat. Tim. 56 δύο πρὸς σώματα. *nostris* brings into curious antithesis the human body and the bodies of matter.

352 *Incursant*, charge, without hurting, owing to the velocity with which the torch is whirled round. *adeo in tenui uim causa repellit*=adeo in tenui causa est quae uim repellit, 'in so small a matter lies the cause of this repulsion of force'; namely in the sprinkling of water on the hand, and the rapidity with which the hand whirls round the lustrating fire: two things slight in themselves, but enough to allow the human body (*nostris*) to feel the impact and charge of these natural bodies or substances unharmed (*Journ. of Philol.* 1887, p. 303).

353-356

Non cinerem stipulamue leuem non arida sorbet
Gramina non tenuis plantis humus excita predas
Surgit adoratis sublimis fumus ab aris
Tanta quies illi est et pax innoxia rapti. C.

The whole cast of these vv. points in one direction, i.e. to their continuing the description of the at times undisturbed condition of the atmosphere on the summit of *Aetna*¹. The

¹ Haupt transposed 355, 356 to follow 341, thus explaining *fumus* in 355 of the incense offered at the crater, and so far agreeing with my view.

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nominative therefore to *sorbet* would seem to be *aer* or a corresponding word, which has perished with the verse or verses following 350-352 and returning to the main subject of the whole digression (328-356), the tranquil state (under ordinary circumstances) of the air at the top.

354 Jacob thought that *humus* might represent a superlative termination, and altered *plantis humus* into *lentissimus*. It is more probably *placidissimus*. The same confusion of *n* with *ci* is found in Manil. v. 480 *nunc tanto gestu* for *tacito*, again ii. 9 *lances* for *latices*.

excita predas I believe to be a corruption of *excit apludas*. The first of these two words occurs in Stat. Theb. iv. 146 *suus excit in arma Antiquam Tiryntha deus*; a passage cited by Priscian (i. 476, Keil); Neue-Wagener, iii. pp. 287-289, show that *cit* (Colum. vi. 5. 1), *concit* (Lucr. vi. 410), *percit* (Lucr. iii. 303) are classical and good forms.

apludas = *paleas*, 'pieces of chaff,' a rustic word according to Gellius xi. 7. 5 *apludam ueteres rusticos frumenti dixisse furfurem*; Pliny xviii. 99 *Mili et panici et sesimae purgamenta apludam uocant*, a passage which shows that in the middle of the first century A.D. it was a commonly recognized word, and enough to protect it, as at that time current and understood, against the much later sneers of Gellius. Götz, Thes. Glossarum Emendatarum s. v., cites numerous Glossaries for the word; in these it assumes four shapes, *apluda*, *abluda*, *aplunda*, *ablunda*, the last still further corrupted as *abunda* in the San Gallen Glossary edited by Prof. Minton Warren. To these *n* forms the *aprendas* of *Rehd.* and *Ar.* in the verse of *Aetna* seems akin, but I have not found any trace of *r* (*apruda*) in the passages where the word is undoubted. The first syllable would naturally follow the analogy of *aplustre*, which is either long or short. *κινεῖν κάρφος* is almost proverbial in Greek. Arist. Lysistr. 474 *κινούσα μηδὲ κάρφος*, where see Blaydes; Herond. i. 54 *οὐδὲ κάρφος ἐκ τῆς γῆς* | *κινέων*, iii. 67 *κινέοντα μηδὲ κάρφος*.

355 Scaliger's correction *odoratis* would be like Ovid's *odoratis ignibus* (M. xv. 574, Pont. iii. 3. 40, F. i. 75, in the two latter combined with *ara*) and refer unmistakably to the

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incense offered on the mountain top. But *adoratis* which MSS. give is also possible; the worship is addressed to the altars as directly communicating with the gods.

[The passage in Solinus 5. 23 (p. 58, ed. Mommsen) cited by Jacob and describing a Sicilian sacrifice in which the fire comes to the altar spontaneously, and the sacrificers, while banqueting, are touched by a flame without being burnt, *ibi epulantes adludit flamma quae flexuosis excessibus uagabunda quem contigerit non adurit nec aliud est quam imago nuntia perfecti rite uoti*, can have nothing to do with the sacrifice on Aetna, for Solinus expressly states that it took place on the *Collis Vulcanius* not far from Agrigentum, on the south-west coast of Sicily (Freeman, *Hist. of Sicily*, ii. 407), a site far removed from Aetna.

Distinct from this is the site mentioned by Grattius, Cynege. 430-460, Aelian, H. A. xi. 3. The locale of this latter site is certainly some part of Aetna, ἐν Αἴτνῃ τῇ Σικελικῇ (Ael.):

Est in Trinacria¹ specus ingens rupe, cauique
Introsum reditus, circum atrae moenia siluae
Alta premunt, ruptique ambustis faucibus amnes,
Vulcano condita domus. (Grat. 430-432.)

for it is obvious that the words of Grattius correspond to the Ἡφαίστου τιμᾶται νεώς, καὶ ἔστι περίβολος καὶ δένδρα ἱερὰ καὶ πῦρ ἄσβεστόν τε καὶ ἀκοίμητον. But this also cannot refer to the *top* of the volcano, for no such sacred precinct or temple of Vulcan with attendant dogs is associated with the crater: nor could animals be dragged repeatedly to such a height to be cured of ulcerous diseases as Grattius states, 435, 436:

Huc defecta mala uidi pecuaria tabe

Saepe trahi uictosque malo grauiore magistros.

Moreover the flame which spontaneously kindles the offering on the altars is particularly stated by Grattius to come from a cavernous fissure in the rock and to return again to the same cavern:

444 Aduersis specibus ruptoque e pectore montis
Venit ouans Austris et multo flumine flammae
Emitat.

¹ *Trinacria rupes* = Aetna in Catull. lxviii. 53.

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and 458-460 deus illam molliter aram
 Lambit et ipse suos ubi contigit ignis honores
 Defugit ab sacris rursumque reconditur antro ;
 a description which must refer to a lower part of the mountain.

Either, therefore, the poet of *Aetna* does not refer to these rites at all, or the connexion of them with 328-354 is obscured by the corruption of the MSS., which is specially palpable at this part of the poem.]

357-364 Whether the cause, then, is external or inward, it is this impetuous air which hurls up the inside of the volcano, boulders, sand, and huge rocks, that clash against each other as they rise and produce a terrific din.

357 *propriisue* Scaliger, for *propriisque* of MSS.
potentis of *C* and *Rehd.* is retained by Munro, though a *nominative* (not *accusative*) plural. Neue-Wagener have collected a considerable number of similar instances, *Formenl.* ii. p. 119, notably from Lucr., *uisentis plangentis duplicis auentis pascentis plorantis labentis quatientis uolantis*, and some few from Vergil. Alzinger and Hildebrandt think *fortis* in 624 is such a nom. plur.

360 *trepidantia*, 'quaking or shivering with the encounter,' i.e. starting off from each other with a vibrating and convulsive motion. But *strepitantia*, or *crepitantia* as Jacob conj., may be right. I prefer the former ; Ov. M. xi. 364 *Inde fragore graui strepitus loca proxima terret Belua uasta lupus.*

fragoris, accus. plur. after *rumpunt* (Munro, Hild.). The latter compares *rumpere uocem, questus* (Aen. ii. 129, iv. 553).

362-364 Scal. traces this simile of trees taking fire by the attrition of their boughs to Thuc. ii. 77. 4 ἤδη γὰρ ἐν ὄρεσιν ὕλη τριφθεῖσα ὑπ' ἀνέμων πρὸς αὐτὴν ἀπὸ ταῦτομάτου πῦρ καὶ φλόγα ἀπ' αὐτοῦ ἀνῆκε. It occurs twice in Lucretius i. 897 *At saepe in magnis fit montibus, inquis, ut altis Arboribus uicina cacumina summa terantur Inter se, ualidis facere id cogentibus austris, Donec flammai fulserunt flore coorto*, v. 1095-1100.

362 *prono*, 'descending,' nearly = κατασκήπτοντι. Alzinger quotes Lucr. vi. 560 *Incumbit tellus quo uenti prona premitt uis.*

363 *aquilone*, Hor. C. ii. 9. 7 (Wernsdorf).

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dant brachia, 'entwine,' more often with dat., as in Hor. C. ii. 12. 18, Ov. Pont. ii. 6. 13.

364 *ac*, Wernsdorf, for *haec* of most MSS. But *et* (Scal.) is often interchanged with *haec*, and would agree with the use of *et* elsewhere in the poem, e.g. 299 *et magnum commurmurat Aetna*, 'and then, as a consequence.'

365-391 'You must not suppose that the causes of eruption cease to act or lose their potency. The winds are ever at hand and always working. Such cessations of action as occur are caused by temporary obstructions, rocky masses choke the openings either at the bottom or towards the summit. The stoppage only makes the air rush out more violently; then is the time for all the inflammable materials which have their home in Aetna to burn furiously, sulphur, alum, bitumen,' &c.

365 *mendacia vulgi*. That Aetna would eventually cease to erupt must have been a prevailing opinion in Ovid's time, who states it at great length M. xv. 340-355, and gives three reasons. (1) Earth may be animated, and breathe through spiracles. These, if earth moves its position, will change with it; and eruptions will cease at one place, and break out in another. (2) The caverns in which are stored the winds that cause the eruption, will be left cold and cease to store them any more; (3) the supply of bitumen, sulphur, and other inflammable substances will fail. Besides, if there was a time in the past when Aetna did not discharge flame, a similar period may be expected in the future. *Nec quae sulphureis ardet fornacibus Aetna Ignea semper erit, neque enim fuit ignea semper*. With *Nec te decipiant . . . mendacia* cf. Ov. Her. xv. 55 *Nec uos decipiant blandae mendacia linguae*.

366 *cessare* and *dare tempora* depend on *mendacia*, as in Caecin. vi. 16 *quo testimonio nunc utitur sibi emptum esse*.

sinus, 'hollows,' 117 *Quis enim non credat inanes Esse sinus penitus?*

tempora, as Horace speaks of *fuga temporum*: the plur. gives the notion of shifting courses or successions of time.

367 *rapiant*, 'to grasp again,' as if lost for a period. Perhaps the same sense in *rapuitque in fomite flammam* (Aen. i. 180),

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the fire having to be *recovered*, as it were, or grasped again, and brought into renewed existence.

368 *exue*, 'strip off, throw aside.' Aen. iv. 319 *exue mentem*; Met. i. 622 *Non protinus exuit omnem Diua metum*.

370 *egestas* is to be supplied to *mendicat* and *conrogat* (Hildebrandt).

mendicat opes, as Plautus has *mendicas malum*, Amph. iv. 2. 12; Ovid, *mendicato cibo*, Trist. v. 8. 14.

conrogat asks for contributions. Ad Herenn. iv. 6. 9 *Si Prometheus cum mortalibus ignem diuidere uellet, ipse a uicinis cum testa ambulans carbunculos conrogaret, non ridiculus uideretur?*

371 *operae*, 'gangs of workmen,' Munro. Frequent in Cic. of supporters hired to lend rough service, Flac. xxxviii. 97 *uis absit, ferrum ac lapides remoueantur, operae facessant, seruitia sileant*. Sest. viii. 18 *uenditabat se* (Clodius) *operis*, 'hired ruffians' (J. S. Reid), xxx. 66 *per operas concitatas . . . exturbari*, and often in this oration. The word connotes violence.

372 *rumpat iter*, 'stop their way,' as Wernsd. shows from Hor. C. iii. 27. 5 *Rumpat et serpens iter institutum*. Ov. Am. iii. 6. 87 *quid mutua differs Gaudia, quid coeptum, rustice, rumpis iter?*

373-377 are thus written in C:

Sepe premit fauces magnis extracta ruinis

Congeries. clauditque uias ^{at tur} luctamur ab imo

Et scisso ueluti tecto sub pondere praestat

Haud similis teneros cursu cum frigida monti

Desidia est. tutoque licet discedere montes.

374 luctamine *Rehd. Ar.* 375 etscisso v: escisso
Rehd. Ar.: et spisso *Jacob* tecto *Rehd. Ar. v*: tectos *the*
present editor pressans *Jacob*: pressat *Baehrens* 376
cur secum f. m. *Rehd. Jacob conj.* Haud sinit hiscere eos cursu,
which Haupt altered to eas sursum *Munro* praestat Haud
simili strepere hos cursu. *Sudhaus and Buecheler retain the*
reading of C in 375, 376 unaltered. Buecheler writes 'Saepe
premuntur fauces montis ruinarum congerie quasi quodam tecto.
tectum tam ruinosum ac rimosum quo iure spissum uocatur?'

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hoc Iacobus finxit, tu reuoca ex libris *scisso ueluti tecto*. atque hac ipsa scissura tenerascunt uenti quos non posse turbare didicimus nisi angustii inclusos.' *But the verse is palpably corrupt. tum for cum Jacob. Alsinger supports this by Aen. xi. 828 tum frigida toto Paulatim exsoluit se corpore 377 discedere Ar. v: descendere Rehd.: discedere uentos Wernsd.: desiderare uentis Jacob: discedere motis Buecheler.*

As a return has lately been made to the text of *C*, I shall first mention Sudhaus' interpretation of 375-377. He alters *scisso* to *spisso* (375), *montes* (377) into *uentos*, and adds a comma after *discedere*: otherwise retains *C* unchanged. 375-377 he translates 'As under a thick roof it (the *congeries*) makes the winds beneath its weight no longer like their former selves, but enfeebled in their course, while the mountain is benumbed in torpid inaction and one may still retire without danger.'

Buecheler goes a step farther, and retains *scisso*. He supposes the *congeries* to form an imperfect and to some extent porous covering, through which the winds issue softened (*teneros*) and no longer possessed of their native violence (*haud similis*). He accepts *tum* for *cum*, and suggests *motis* for *montes*, i. e. 'when the winds are roused to action.'

Against both critics may be urged

1. That all edd. before them have considered 376 corrupt, and that this is the impression conveyed by the verse as it stands in the MSS.

2. That the new interpretation is a *tour de force*, hardly to be wrung from the words, and wholly unlike the ordinary style of the poem. *similis* must = *similis sui*; *teneros* must = 'weakly,' 'softened,' of which in regard to *winds* no instance is cited; and the two adjectives must stand in antithesis to each other, with no particle to express this, i. e. *haud similis (sui, sed) inualidos*¹.

Against Sudhaus it may be further argued

1. That he is inconsistent in admitting three corrections of 373-377 as given by *C*, namely *luctamine* for *luctatur* or *lucta-*

¹ In Lucr. iii. 765 *in tenero tenerascere corpore mentem*, which Munro translates 'the mind grows weakly in a weakly body,' the adj. and the verb explain each other.

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mur, spisso for scisso, uentos for montes. After such an admission to find no difficulty in 376, is (critically speaking) to strain the gnat, and swallow the camel.

2. The connexion of the clause *cum frigida monti Desidia est tutoque licet discedere* with the rest of the sentence is obscure and only just intelligible. It would seem to mean, the mass of débris makes the winds feeble and so changed from their normal strength as to be unrecognizable, the volcano being now inactive and descent from it possible without the danger which attends an eruption.

Against Buecheler's retention of *scisso*, on the ground that the *rents* in the mass of obstructing rock are the cause of the winds' diminished violence, as affording them an outlet, I would urge that the poet's object is here to state the causes of *obstruction* (*Causa laet quae rumpat iter cogatque morari*), not to introduce details which *diminish* that obstruction, such as openings in the mass of superincumbent rock or débris.

Baehrens' unfavourable judgement on the various *conamina* which preceded his edition, must extend to his own. I regard all these suggestions as undoubtedly wrong. My own view was first stated in the *Journal of Philology* for 1887, p. 304.

In 374 it seems probable that *luctamur* was closer to the archetype than the v.l. given in *C luctatur*. Rehd.'s *luctamine* would account for the *m* and might come from an old source; certainly does not look like a correction. Munro's explanation satisfies 'against the turmoil below' on the analogy of *munire ab* found in Sallust, Horace, Columella, Livy (Lucr. iii. 820). In Postgate's *C. P. L.* ii. p. 73 I keep *luctatur*, sc. *congeries*, the huge mass of rock wrestling in turn with the winds which follow one after another as so many *ἑφελδοι*, cf. the passage of Cicero's *de fato* (xiii. 30) cited by Key, s. v., in which *luctabitur Olympiis Milo* is said to be permissible because *luctari* implies an adversary. But it would be the winds (Sen. N. Q. vi. 18) which more properly *wrestle* with the obstructing rock; I have therefore returned to *luctamine*.

In 375 I write *tecto[s] sub pondere*, the *s* having fallen out before *sub*. This change seems to me necessary and almost certain. *tectos praestat*, 'keeps them securely covered,' would

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be like Lucr. iii. 219 *Extima membrorum circumcaesura tamen se Incolumem praestat*, Ovid's *mens se Praestitit inuictam*, Trist. iv. 10. 104, Hor. Ep. i. 6. 49 *Si fortunatum species et gratia praestat*. But Baehrens' *pressat*, 'squeezes,' is very plausible and is Lucretian, iv. 1109 *pressantes dentibus ora*.

In 376 I write *Aut simili tenet occursum* for *Haud similis teneros cursu*, 'holds them back by a similar obstruction.' *occursum*, literally 'meeting,' 'encountering' of the winds at a point higher up the mountain, when they are entering the openings during a period of calm. Caec. xiv. 39 *eadem ui et isdem armis mihi ante occurratur, ne non modo intrare, uerum adspicere aut adspirare possim*. Two causes are assigned for the intermittent violence of Aetna, (1) an accumulation of rock which blocks up the passage at the bottom and keeps the winds imprisoned *under* it; (2) a similar obstruction which *meets* the winds on their way downwards.

376 *frigida*. Ov. M. xv. 349 *Antra* (Aetna's caverns) *relinquentur sedatis frigida uentis*.

378 *Post ubi*, Lucretian v. 886, vi. 128 (Alzinger).

urgent, neut., G. iii. 200 *longique urgent ad litora fluctus*; Aen. x. 433 *hinc Pallas instat et urget*.

379 *uincula*. Sen. N. Q. vi. 18. 3 *Eius uis tanta non potest cohereri, nec uentum tenet ulla compages, soluit enim quodcumque uinculum* (Wagler).

380 *in obliquum*, opp. of *in rectum*, Ov. M. ii. 715. 'Se font jour ('clear a space') avec fracas dans les passages obliques' (Chenu).

381 *operata*, 'busied with.' Prof. Postgate has treated *operatus* exhaustively, *J. of Philol.* 1899, pp. 314-320. He shows (1) that it has invariably, not a past, but a present sense; (2) that it is the only part of the verb found in the best writers. From his list of citations I select Lucr. iv. 985 *Et quibus in rebus consuerint esse operati*; Tib. ii. 1. 65 *assidue textis operata*, 3. 36 *Praeda tamen multis est operata malis*; Ov. M. vii. 746 *studiis operata Dianae*; A. A. iii. 411 *operataque doctis Cura uigil Musis*; Plin. H. N. xxvi. 11 *sedere in scholis auditioni operatos*; Sen. de Ben. vii. 14. 6 *huic uni (studio) imminens atque operatus*; Tac. Hist. v. 20 *egressum militem et caedendis materiis operatum turbauere*.

383 *Si MSS., Sic* Maehly, very plausibly before *c* of *cessata*.

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It is hardly probable that *si* should here be an earlier form of *sic*, as it certainly is in the fragments of the satirist Lucilius (see Key's *Dictionary*, s. v.), and perhaps in *si dis placet*.

cessata, see on 69.

384-386 are thus given in *C*:

Nunc superant quaecumque regant incendia silvae
Quae flammās alimenta uocent quid nutriet aethnam
Incendi poterunt.

384 regnant *v*: tegunt *Jacob*: quae iam generent *Maehly*:
rigant *Munro*: creant *Wagler*: gerant *Baehrens* 385 flammis
a. uocant (= uacant) *Munro* quid *v*: quod *Rehd. Ar.*:
quod (= quoad) nutriet Aetna *Munro*.

The structure of the sentence seems clearly indicated by the last words *Incendi poterunt*. They form, I think, the apodosis to the two vv. preceding. I would compare two passages of Grattius' *Cynegetica*, 454-456:

Illum agat infandae comes huc audacia culpa;
Discet commissā quantum deus ultor in ira
Pone sequens ualeat.

'Let the criminal approach this shrine: then he will learn how powerful is an offended god.'

Ib. 461-463:

Nec mora; si medias exedit noxia fibras,
His laque praesidiis adfectaque corpora mulce:
Regnantem excuties (*T. Johnson* for excuties) morbum.

'Wash and foment the ulcerous limbs with these remedies, and you will drive the disease out.'

Aetn. 403-405:

hunc multis circum inice flammis,
Et patere extorquere animos atque exue robur.
Fundetur ferro citius.

'Submit the lava-stone to the action of a furnace and it will fuse quicker than iron.'

On this hypothesis, 384, 385, should contain an imperative: this is *regant*, apparently an error for *rigent* (subj.): *nunc silvae rigent quaecumque superant incendia*, 'now let the forests of Aetna rain all their abundant stores of fire: they will kindle without difficulty.'

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superant quaecumque = quaecumque superant; *superant*, 'abound,' the whole store of Aetna's vast supply of combustibles, a common meaning; e. g. G. ii. 331 *superat tener omnibus umor*.

rigent seems the right word: it gives the idea of profuse pouring; a *rain* of fire. Munro on Lucr. ii. 262 *motus per membra rigantur*, iv. 907 *somnus per membra quietem Irriget* shows that *rigare* is sometimes constructed with an accus. of the thing poured or shed. He quotes Furius in Macrob. vi. 1. 44 *mitemque rigat per pectora somnum*.

siluae is explained by Munro 'materials' = ὕλη of Strab. 274 ἐπιλειπούσης τῆς ὕλης, Philostr. Imagin. 365 (p. 95, Benndorf) τὰ τὴν ὕλην ἐξερεθίζοντα, both of Aetna; but he acknowledges the plural¹ to be curious. In the passage, cited by Alzinger from Lucretius i. 902, 903 *Verum semina sunt ardoris multa, terendo Quae cum confluxere, creant incendia siluis*, the meaning is 'forests,' and the resemblance of the verse of *Aetna* is so decided as to make it more than probable that this is the meaning there also. Strabo mentions the oak-woods of Aetna, 273 τὰ κάτω δὲ δρυμοῖς καὶ φυτεῖαις διείληπται παντοδαπαῖς. In modern times the *Nemorosa* or woody zone (Swinburne, *Travels in Sicily*, ii. p. 370; Daubeny, *Description of Volcanos*, p. 271) is the second and middlemost of the three belts into which Etna is divided. Swinburne, who visited Sicily in 1777-1780, describes these woods as very beautiful, with risings and falls like an English park. On p. 373 he says, speaking of the south-east, 'Near the entrance of the wood, chestnut and oak trees are intermixed, afterwards oak alone is to be seen; some of them of a prodigious size; the largest I measured was twenty-eight feet in circumference. As we approached the inner verge of the woody region, the oaks diminished in bulk and number, and were succeeded by the taeda pine, but I saw none among these of any large dimensions.' It is possible that these turpentiniferous pines may be in the poet's thoughts; perhaps also the attrition of the boughs in the oak or chestnut

¹ Wagler, p. 59, takes *siluae* as gen. singular depending on *incendia*. This I think is wrong.

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woods, which he introduces (though only as a simile) in 362-364.

385 calls for little alteration: *quid*, for which *Rehd.* and *Ar.* give *quod*, is perhaps *quot*, whether referring to *flammas* or *alimenta*; Munro's *nutriet* for *nutriat* seems almost necessary: the subj. can hardly be defended as attracted into the mood of the final clause *uocent*: 'let Aetna's woods pour their teeming supply of combustibles, everything that as fuel is to call up the diverse flames Aetna feeds.'

386 '*illis causis* depends on *utile*, a kind of earth serving, when in contact with fire, as a means for producing these effects,' Munro. Such anastrophe is common enough in Latin poetry. But here it seems more natural to construct *illis causis* as datives in immediate dependence on *Materia est*; these causes (i.e. the causes which produce these fires) have materials of home growth.

uernacula=*domestica*. Varro, R. R. iii. 5, 7, opposes birds not indigenous to Italy (*aduenae*) like swallows and cranes, to *uernaculae*, such as hens and pigeons (Le Clerc).

387 *adpositumque* with *igni*, in proximity to fire; or, perhaps, readily combustible: *adpositus* is common in this sense = *idoneus*, but is more frequently constructed with *ad*, than as here with dative. Chenu seems to take this view, 'une sorte de terre que le feu s'approprie.' Scal. paraphrases *ἐνδεχόμενον καὶ πεφυκὸς καίεσθαι*.

terraest, Wernsdorf, for *terrent*, convincingly.

genus terrae, from its ordinary use in Pliny and Vitruvius, can only mean *a kind of earth*. The poet must be following special information. Vitruv. ii. 6. 1 speaks of the hot earths (*terrae feruentes*) of Vesuvius and the Baian region.

388 *sulphuris*: Freeman, *Hist. of Sicily*, i. 528; Plin. xxxv. 177 *neque alia res facilius accenditur, quo adparet ignium uim magnam ei inesse*. Sir Edward Fry, *Studies by the Way*, 273 (Nisbet, 1900), states that Etna itself contains only a small amount of sulphur: 'One is apt to fancy that there is some connection between the sulphur of Sicily and the presence of Mount Etna; but this, I believe, is quite erroneous. It is true that sulphur occurs in small quantities on the mountain; but

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nowhere in such abundance as to be worked. The great sulphur districts of Sicily are entirely detached from its volcanic system, and the mineral appears to have originated from the decomposition of beds of gypsum.'

389 *alumine* for *numine* of *C*, *uimine* of *v*, was not discovered till Jacob's edition (1826). It is undoubtedly right. Sudhaus shows that *sulphur*, *alumen*, *bitumen* are quoted three times in this order by Vitruv. viii. 2, 3; Pliny in his description, H. N. xxxv. 174-183, gives the sequence—*sulphur*, *bitumen*, *alumen*. Pliny uses the adj. *spissum* twice of alum: 184, where he distinguishes two sorts, the liquid and the spiss; 188 where, describing the alum of Melos, which he considers the best, he says *nullum spissius*.

390 *Pingue bitumen*: Plin. xxxv. 179 *gignitur et pingue oleique liquoris in Sicilia, Agrigentino fonte, inficiens ruom*.

comminus is explained by Sudh. 'in close vicinity,' near enough to attract flame, such as naphtha, of which Pliny says, ii. 235 *Huic magna cognatio ignium, transsiliuntque in eam protinus undecunque uisam*: and so Posidonius ap. Strab. 743 speaks of naphtha springs attracting (*ἐκσπνέουσας*) fire. It is possible, however, that *comminus irritat* = 'rouses to a hand and hand encounter' of forces; with this *acris* would well agree, suggesting the determination of the fire to press the advantage it has over an unequal, though resisting, foe. Cf. *rudibus contendere massis*, 561, of the struggle which mechanics, aided by wind and fire, carry on with the masses of metal which they are fusing.

391 *corporis*, 'material' (Le Clerc).

392, 393

Atque hanc materiam penitus discurrere fontes

Infectae eripiantur atque radice sub ipsa. *C*.

393 eripiant *Rehd.* aque *Rehd. v* eripient et *Haupt* testantur *Maehly*: rumpuntur *Munro*: crispantur *the present editor*.

A very doubtful passage. All edd., except Sudhaus, demur to *eripiantur*. Haupt's *eripient* = *extorquebunt*, 'will force you to believe,' gives to *eripere* a sense not proven: in Tib. i. 9. 35 *Illis eriperes uerbis mihi sidera caelo Lucere*; Hor. S. ii. 2. 23

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Vix tamen eripiam posito pauone uelis quin Hoc potius quam gallina tergere palatum, the meaning is, 'you would take from me the belief'; 'I shall hardly take from you a preference for peacock.' Again, the position of *et*, and the change of *eripi-antur* to *eripient et*, are both improbable. Nor is *testantur* or *rumpuntur* likely to have become *eripiantur*.

Sudh. translates, 'And in proof that this material penetrates far into the heart of the mountain, let an experiment be made by drawing off (or, up) some of the tainted water at the base.' Such a sense of *eripiantur* is not supported by Vitruv. viii. 2. 5 *ex omnibus terris (uenti) lambentes eripiunt umores*, nor by Plat. Tim. 60 ἰπὸ πυρὸς τάχους πᾶν τὸ νοτερόν ἐξαπνασθέν: in both the sense of *subtracting*, in the latter with violence, something which properly belongs to an object, is quite clear; of which in the passage of *Aetna* there can be no notion. *eripiantur*, if genuine, ought to mean, 'be carried forcibly away'; suggesting difficulty and a struggle¹. The nearest approach to the sense assigned by Sudhaus that I can find is in Claudian's *Hystrix* xlv. 36 (p. 291 Birt) *Eripiunt trucibus Gortynia capris Cornua* merely = 'they remove.' But, to say nothing of the late date of this poem, the notion of violence is not absent, as the epithet *trucibus* seems to show.

In *Journ. of Philology*, 1887, p. 304, I conjectured *crispantur*, 'ripple,' a word particularly used of *water*. 'Crispari eleganter dicitur aqua, cum breuioribus undis quasi trepidat. Hinc *crispi* undarum *motus*, Auson. Mosell. v. 194, eodem fere modo et arenam *crispari* dicit, v. 63. Minuc. Fel. c. 3 *Et ut semper mare, etiam positis flatibus, inquietum est, etsi non canis spumosisque fluctibus exhibat ad terram, tamen crispis torosisque (tor-tuosisque, P. Daniel) ibidem erroribus delectati perquam sumus*,' de Rooy, *Spicileg. Crit.* 1771.

The infin. *discurrere* depends κατὰ σύνεσιν on a suppressed verb latent in *crispantur*. Parallel uses of loosely attached infin. are not uncommon in Lucretius, ii. 1128 *Nam certe fluere atque recedere corpora rebus Multa manus dandumst*; iii. 765

¹ So in Vitruv. ii. 6. 3 *ab ignis uehementia e tofo terraque, quem admodum in fornacibus ex calce, ita ex his ereptum esse liquorem*, the sense is that the liquid has been forcibly withdrawn.

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Scilicet in tenero tenerascere corpore mentem Confugient, 'they will take refuge on the plea that.' v. 261 *Quod superest, umore nouo mare flumina fontes Semper abundare et latices manare perennis Nil opus est uerbis* (Hildebrandt, *Beiträge*, p. 22). In all such cases the infinitive *precedes*.

Daubeny, p. 289, found sulphuretted hydrogen evolved from the spring of Santa Vennera at the bottom of Etna. Plin. ii. 234 *exsilire fontis etiam in Aetnae radicibus*.

394 *pars*, sc. *materiae*.

395 *Ac* suggests, but can hardly be, 'as,' a sense in which it is sometimes found without a word of comparison (*aeque, tant-opere*, &c.) before it, e.g. Plaut. Bacch. iii. 6. 20 *quem esse amicum ratus sum atque ipsus sum mihi*. Cic. Fam. xii. 13. 1 *neque enim omnium iudicio malim me a te commendari quam ipse tuo iudicio digne ac mereor commendatus esse*, especially in the combination *ac si*, 'as if,' which occurs in the Digest.

396 *sine numine C v: sine nomine Rehd. Arund.* which seems right; Munro's *sine alumine* gives an undue importance to alum over bitumen, sulphur, &c. In *sine nomine*, 'unnumbered' or 'unnamed,' the poet may have in mind Vergil's *multam in medio sine nomine plebem*, Aen. ix. 341, or Ovid's *sine nomine flores*, Fast. iv. 441, *His et mille aliis postquam sine nomine rebus*, Met. vii. 275.

398 *maxima causa incendi*. Hence the lava-stone was specially called *πυρίτης*. Plin. xxxvi. 137 *Molarem quidam pyriten uocant, quoniam sit plurimus ignis illi*.

molaris, *μολίας*, the stone used for mill-stones, the lava-stone. Daubeny, *Volcanos*, p. 83, gives the following explanation, speaking of the Eifel: 'The lava is divided by vertical fissures into irregular columnar masses, some twenty feet in height, and these columns cut horizontally, and having their angles rounded off, are fashioned into mill-stones, for which they are well adapted from the unevenness of their fracture, derived from the infinite number of minute cells distributed through the substance of the rock.' In modern times, one species of trachyte stone, distinguished for its hardness and cellularity, and therefore much used for mill-stones, is known as mill-stone trachyte (Daubeny, p. 121).

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399 *is uindicat*, Munro, for *si uindicat* of C; the only other conj. of any likelihood is Jacob's *hic uindicat*, to which *lapis sic* of *Rehd. Ar.*, or *lapidis sic* of *v* might seem to point. The Roman poets, as a rule, prefer *hic* to *is*.

400 *robore*, MSS., 'if you should try (test) it by its firmness,' may be defended by 424 *Cerne locis*, 'test the matter by particular places¹.'

403 *Scintillat dolor*. The stone sparkles for rage. Sudh. quotes Plin. H. N. xxxvi. 137 *plurimum ignis habent ii quos uiuos appellamus . . . qui clauo uel altero lapide percussi scintillam edunt*.

multis flammis, 'a strong furnace.' The poet had made the experiment, if we may judge from 479 *uelut in fornace*.

404 *patere (eas) extorquere animos*. By *animos* is meant the indomitable spirit, or proud temper of the stone, which only yields to the strongest compulsion. *robur* here manifestly firmness or solidity.

405-413 are thus written in C:

Fundetur ferro citius nam mobilis illi
Et metuens naturam alii est ubi coritur igni.
Sed simul atque hausit flammam non tutior hausti
Villa domus seruans aciem duramque tenaci
Septa fide tutum est illi patientia uicto
Uix umquam redit in uires atque euomit ignem
Totus enim denso stipatur robore cardo

^s
^{acc}
Pertenuis² admissa uias incendia nutrit
Cunctanterque eadem et pigre coepta remittit.

406 *natura mali Rehd. v* cogitur *v*: coquitur *Rehd. Ar.*: carpitur *Alsinger*: corpitur *Baehrens*: coritur *for* cooritur *Sudhaus*: coritur ignis *Birt* 407 *haustu Rehd.*: *haustis Scaliger* 408 *duransque Scaliger* *perhaps* diuumque 409 *fides Rehd.* tanta est *Scaliger*: tuta est *Jacob*: *fidest*: ut tum est *Munro*: *bruta est the present editor, Journ. of Philol.*

¹ *Robora* however, the conjecture of Le Clerc, is also a v.l. given in MS. D'Orv. 195 as coming from P. Pithou (*Cl. Rev.* 1900, p. 123).

² *acc* = *accusatiuus*.

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1892, p. 230 411 stipatus *Le Clerc* cardo] tarda v:
tardans *Rehd. Arund.*: tarde the *Helmstadt MS.*: carbo the
present editor 413 concepta *Munro*.

406 *coritur* is defended by Sudh. = *cooritur*, 'rises to meet in battle,' like *signo dato coorti pugnam ediderunt*, Liv. vii. 9, and he shows (after a remark of Hildebrandt's) that the *molaris* is specially designated as πυρίμαχος or πυρομάχος (Arist. Met. iv. 6, Theophr. lap. ix. οἱ πυρομάχοι καὶ οἱ μύλαιοι). But (1) the contraction *coritur* does not seem to exist in Latin poetry; (2) *cooritur igni* for *oritur contra ignem* cannot¹ be paralleled.

Of the conjectures, Baehrens' *corpitur* is faulty, as a form of *corripitur* not found and ill-supported by Horace's *surpuerat*, *surpille* (C. iv. 13. 20, S. ii. 3. 283), Lucretius' *surpere*, ii. 314.

Alzinger's *carpitur*, though excellent in sense and Vergilian (Aen. iv. 2), is somewhat remote from the letters of *coritur*. *cogitur*, 'when it is forced,' or 'under compulsion of fire,' besides suiting the passage as the most natural word, is not a mere conjecture, but is found in *v*, and may come from an early source.

407 is aptly compared by Alzinger with Ciris 163, 164 *Quae simul ac uenis hausit sitientibus ignem Et ualidum penitus concepit in ossa furorem*; a parallel which makes *Munro's concepta* in 413 almost certain.

The genitive *hausti* (a neuter like G. ii. 398 *Cui numquam exhausti satis est*) depends on *domus*, 'home of what it has imbibed'; yet Scaliger's *haustis* is also possible, a dative rather than abl., 'yet once absorbed they (the flames) have no safer home.'

408 Scaliger's *duransque* for *duramque* of MSS. seems very likely, as *duramque* can only be retained on the improbable view that *seruans aciem duramque* can = *seruansque a. d.*; if *durans* is right it almost follows that *saepta* is an accus. plur. as Wernsdorf thought: not, however, in the sense he assigned, 'quae intus conclusa sunt,' but either the outer walls which close round the central seat of flame, or perhaps the partitions into which the molten lava-masses fall by the action of heat. Lucre-

¹ Birt, who however himself retains *coritur*, changing *igni* to *ignis*, as in Liv. xxvi. 27. 5.

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tius has *saepta domorum* (walls), i. 489, vi. 228, and so Vitruv. viii. 3. 10 *efficiunt his crustis in agris saepta*.

409 Sudhaus retains *tutum est*, interpreting 'the fire has its safe place, and the conquered is content to submit,' i.e. the lava-stone succumbs to the flame and owns itself defeated. This distracts *illi* from *uicto*, and is not even the natural sense of the words as Sudhaus arranges them, which, if genuine, should mean 'it finds a safety in the proverb "endurance for the conquered."' That the poet so wrote I cannot bring myself to believe.

Munro's *ut tum*, an exclamation in the style of Varro's *Quod aiunt non esse analogiam, ut in hoc errant!* L. L. ix. 34, or Catullus' *Saltus . . . non falso diues Fertur, qui quot res in se habet egregias!* (but other MSS. give *tot*) necessitates some change in *fide*: he edits thus

non tutior hausti

Villa domus; seruans aciem duramque tenaci

Saepta fides; ut tum est illi patientia uicto!

in which *saepta* is of course nom. fem. (so also Sudh.), 'fenced about with resolute fidelity.'

The passage must remain doubtful: my conj. *bruta*, 'insensate,' 'apathetic,' would be Lucretian, vi. 105 *bruto pondere*. Lucretian certainly is *redit in uires*, iii. 505 *redit in sensus*. Or possibly *tutum* may be *sic tum* or *sua tum*, 'such is its submissiveness when once defeated,' or 'once defeated it shows a submissiveness peculiarly its own.'

411 *cardo* of C can hardly be *tarde*, as *cunctanter* and *pigre* in 413 would convey the same idea *ad nauseam*. I believe it is an error for *carbo*. A mass of *lapis molaris* might be so called as a carbonized or rather carbonizing substance, of course in reference to its slow and gradual burning (*Journ. of Philol.* 1895, p. 17).

410 sqq. The fire smoulders on within the lava-stone, and does not at once discharge itself in flame: in this respect it is unlike other stones in which the germ of fire soon dies out and is then extinct: lava retains its fire and takes a long time and many burnings before it is reduced to its final state of pumice-like cinderiness or crumbling sand.

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411 *stipatus*, 'closely packed,' as Lucr. ii. 67 *non inter se stipata cohaeret Materies* (Le Clerc).

415 *Vincit* has the advantage over other stones, and so may be said to be the real cause (*causam tenet*) of combustion.

416 *lapidis* is a necessary correction of de Rooy's for *lapidum* of all MSS. It is incredible that our poet, with all his weaknesses, should spoil the force of his reasoning by a sudden appeal to the wonderful character of stones *in general*, when the very point of all he says is to prove the *molaris* to be exceptionally wonderful *in contrast* with other stones. Sudhaus alone retains *lapidum*.

419 *quod repetas*, 'to go back for, or return to.' Sudh. quotes Sen. N. Q. vi. 1. 13 *circuit fatum et si quid diu praeteriit repetit*.

sine semine, 'with no seed or germ of future fire.'

420 *semel atque iterum*, which in Suet. Aug. 22 means 'twice,' here = 'again and again,' as in Caesar, B. G. i. 31. 6. Cic. Font. xii. 26 (viii. 16) has *semel atque iterum ac saepius*.

[*Hic* for *Sic* of MSS. is required by *Cetera* in 417.]

421 *desinit*, sc. instaurare vires.

423 *iacit* of C I retain as agreeing well with *putres* and *dilapsus*, 'and so dissolving sheds a mass of crumbling sand.' *Rehd.* and *Arund.* give *iacet*, which most edd. and even Sudh. prefer.

424-445 To prove what I say you have only to compare other volcanic regions. In these combustible materials exist in plenty, but they have become inoperative from the want of the lava-stone.

424 *Cerne*, 'try the matter,' as probably in 400 *robore cernas. locis*, 'by particular regions,' i. e. by the indications which particular volcanic neighbourhoods supply, nearly = *naturis locorum*. So I explained, *Journal of Philol.* xxiii. 17, and this is now the view of Sudhaus and Hildebrandt (*Beiträge*, p. 17 note). Wagler's *Locris* is thus unnecessary. *adsiste*, with accus. as in Stat. Theb. iii. 299 *Hos adsistere equos. cauernas* is thought to mean the hollow basins which volcanos naturally form, and which, when the fire has died out, still retain their shape. Brydone mentions a number of such minor craters on Aetna, formed at various periods in the lower part of the mountain, quite distinct from the main crater. Here, of course, the poet is not speaking of these,

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but of volcanos in other parts of Italy or the adjacent islands : the districts near Cumae and Naples, and the islands Aenaria, Strongyle, and Hiera. But it is certain to me that *cauerna* is rarely, if ever, the *crater* in our poet, see 31 *clausis resonare cauernis*, 126 *fluunt tectis adopena cauernis*, and especially 307 *rupes aliquas penitusque cauernas* ; so, too, here he may have in view the hollow and cavernous configuration of such regions generally. Lucan x. 447, 448 *Nec secus in Siculis fureret tua flamma cauernis, Obstrueret summam si quis tibi, Mulciber, Aetnam* seems to oppose the caverns in the lower part of Aetna to the crater at the top.

425 *nascentis* is, slightly emphasized, 'springing naturally.' Gercke's *gliscentis* is unnecessary.

426 *coloris*. Theophrastus, quoted by Scaliger, says the colour of the Aetnean lava was *black*. διαφορὰς δὲ ἔχουσι πρὸς ἀλλήλας καὶ χρώματι καὶ πυκνότητι καὶ βάρει. χρώματι μὲν ὅτι μέλαινα ἢ ἐκ τοῦ ῥύακος τοῦ ἐν Σικελίᾳ, Theophr. fragm. de lapid. 22 ed. Wimmer tom. iii. p. 39 : and so Poseidonius ap. Strab. 269 *τακείσης ἐν τοῖς κρατήρσι τῆς πέτρας εἰτ' ἀναβληθείσης, τὸ ὑπερχυθὲν τῆς κορυφῆς ὑγρὸν πηλὸς ἐστί μέλας ῥέων κατὰ τῆς ὀρεινῆς* εἴτα πῆξιν λαβὼν γίνεται λίθος μυλίας, τὴν αὐτὴν φυλάττων χροῶν ἦν ῥέων εἶχε (Sudhaus).

428-432 are thus written in *C* :

Dicitur insidiis flagrans enarea quondam
Nunc extincta super testisque neapolin inter
Et cumas locus et multis iam frigidus annis
Quamuis aeternum pinguescat etubere sulphur
In mercem legitur tanto est fecundius aethna.

428 *flagrasse Wesseling* 429 *tectisque Rehd.* In MS. D'Orv. 195 the vv. ll. ascribed to P. Pithou give on 428 'in m. superest,' and on 429 'Corrigitur : exstin super testisque cta : ~~testis superque~~ (sic) Neapolin.' *Perhaps* Nunc extincta [diu], superestque N. inter 430 *perhaps ex multis* 431 *pingui scatet ubere the present editor in Journ. of Philol.* 1871, p. 276.

There is no reason to doubt *insidiis* (for which de Serionne substituted *indiciis*), constructed closely with *flagrans* or *flagrasse*, 'to have burst into flame by surprise,' nearly = *per insidias*. Hild. cites Plin. H. N. ii. 203 in proof of Monte

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Epomeo's¹ sudden outbreaks: *cum repente flamma ex eo emicuisset*: and such is the character of Ischian outbreaks of nature to this day, as the earthquakes of 1881, 1883 prove.

Hildebrandt defends *flagrans (fuisse)* by similar passages in Pliny, H. N. viii. 154 *Idem (Bucephalas) in proeliis memoratae cuiusdam perhibetur operae (fuisse)*. xxxvi. 94 *legitur et pensilis hortus (fuisse)*: owing to the doubtfulness of 429 the point cannot be settled, but an infin. certainly would be more natural.

429 *Nunc extincta super*² ought to mean 'at the present time quenched at the top,' i.e. with its crater no longer discharging flame, but covered over with grass and trees. *testisque* would then mean that an attestation of Aenaria having once been volcanic, though in the poet's time the fire was extinct, was to be found in a similar region between Cumæ and Naples, which had once been volcanic and was then so no longer.

But the v.l. recorded by Pithou in MS. D'Orv. 195 seems to show that the tradition of 429 was in some way confused, (1) in *superest* being written in the margin of 428, indicating that besides *super testis* there was a v.l. *superest*; (2) in the separation of *extin-* from *-cta*, and the hesitation of the copyist between *super testisque* and *testis superque*. This appears to me to support a conj. which I made many years ago, and have lately printed in Postgate's *Corpus Poet. Lat.* vol. ii, p. 73 *Nunc extincta [diu] superestque Neapolin inter. super est* written thus, as the word would be in early MSS. (not *superest*), would account for the change to *super testis*, and the *diu* would fall out as hyper-

¹ *Epomeo*, the Roman Epopeus, is the chief mountain of Ischia (Aenaria). It has long been extinct; the great eruption of 1302 A.D. left its record in the 1½ miles of lava blocks in the neighbourhood of the town of Ischia. Julius Obsequens de Prodigis 114 states that at the time of the outbreak of the Social War (B.C. 91) *Aenariae terrae hiatus flamma exorta in caelum emicuit*. This must have been more than 200 years before our poet, and we may perhaps conclude that it was only a minor outbreak, which occasioned no permanent impression.

² Buecheler (*Rh. Mus.* liv. p. 5) joins *super insidiis*, adding 'uidetur poeta tangere sub Epopeo strata Typhonis cubilia' (Strab. 248). This seems artificial. Munro's *super testisque*, 'and there is a witness besides,' is objectionable from the position of *que*.

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metrical; logically, too, *super est* seems better than *testis*; the poet enumerating one after another the various places which confirmed his view. If I am right in this, it follows that *et* in 430 should be changed to *ex*.

In 431 my restoration is accepted by Munro, Baehrens, and Sudhaus, *pingui scatet ubere sulphur*¹. But should this verse be connected with 430 or with 432? I prefer the former view, 'the volcanic district between Cumae and Naples has for many years ceased to burn, in spite of the sulphur, which is there so abundant as to be collected for purposes of sale.' Daubeny, p. 317, makes the same remark about the islet of Nisyrus. 'The sulphur is so abundant as to be collected as an article of commerce, and is occasionally exported to Smyrna.'

430 *locus*, the Solfatara, which, as is well known, in the sixteenth century (Sept. 28, 1538) again became actively volcanic, and formed the Monte Nuovo (Daubeny, p. 208). Its ancient condition is described by Lucretius, Strabo, and Petronius. Lucr. vi. 747 *Is locus est Cumas apud, acri sulphure montes Oppleti calidis ubi fumant fontibus aucti*². Strab. 246 ὑπέρεκται δὲ τῆς πόλεως εὐθὺς ἢ τοῦ Ἡφαίστου ἀγορά, πεδίων περικεκλειμένον διαπύροις ὀφρύσι καμινώδεις ἐχούσαις ἀναπνοὰς πολλαχού καὶ βρωμώδεις (strong smelling) ἱκανῶς· τὸ δὲ πεδίων θείου πληρὲς ἐστὶ συρτοῦ. Petron. S. 120, v. 67 *Est locus exciso penitus demersus hiatus Parthenopen inter magnaeque Dicarchidos arua*, &c.

433 In *cui nomen facies dedit ipsa rotunda* it is difficult to determine whether *rotunda* is to be constructed as an epithet with *facies*, or as defining *nomen*, 'has given the name of the Round.' The nominative is found in this latter construction, even in a clause where an accus. would be expected: so *aetas cui fecimus aurea nomen*, Ov. M. xv. 96. Strab. 157 ὑπάρχει πόλεις αὐτόθι τὴν μὲν καλουμένην Ἑλληνες, τὴν δὲ Ἀμφίλοχοι. (Gildersleeve and Lodge, *Lat. Gram.* § 349).

¹ Val. Flaccus has an imitation, vi. 39 *pingui numquam tamen ubere defit*. I do not accept Sudhaus' modification *pingue scatet u. sulphur* as an improvement of my original conj.

² In Lucr.'s description of the mephitic effluvia *Athenais in moenibus* which follows this, I think *opus* of MSS. in 755 *Sed natura loci opus efficit ipsa suapte* is a mistake for *pus*.

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Rotunda is not known to have been an actual *Roman name* of the island; rather it is the poet's translation of *στρογγύλη*, which Greek name in the form of *Stromboli* remains to the present day. Daubeny, pp. 245-251, gives a good account of Stromboli as he saw it.

435 *Et* = etiam. *lapis*, not the *lapis molaris* of Aetna, but trachytic lava (Sudhaus). Daubeny found the summit of Stromboli 'strewn with masses of black pumice, or of a highly scoriform and fibrous description of lava,' p. 246; the walls of the ancient crater he describes as 'of a trachytic character and of a reddish grey colour, intersected by dykes of a light grey rock, with sparkling crystals of glassy felspar,' p. 250.

[The earlier view of this *lapis* made it the *στρογγύλη* of Plin. xxxv. 187, a kind of alum.]

generandis ignibus. Iustin. iv. 1, of Sicily, *nec non et ignibus generandis nutriendisque soli ipsius naturalis materia*.

436 *qui* MSS. rightly, I think, 'and indeed that stone.' Naeke, on Div. p. 302, reckons this use of *qui*, which is frequent in the *Culex*, among the signs of archaic style. It may perhaps be added to the arguments in favour of a date for *Aetna* not long after Vergil.

437 *mortales* expands *In breue* as an additional explanation, 'feeds the flames for a short time only, and such as soon die down.' *copia*, the supply of the stone is not enough for a prolonged conflagration.

438 Scaliger's *durat adhuc* for *durata* of MSS. seems still the best emendation. Sudhaus shows that *durat*, or *durat etiam nunc*, recurs in Pliny, H. N. xxxvi. 84 *durat etiam nunc (labyrinthus)*, 98 *durat et Cyzici delubrum*. So too in Ovid, M. x. 217 *honorque (Hyacinthi) durat in hoc aevi*, and Justin, iv. 1 *Aetnae montis per tot saecula durat incendium*. Diodorus, in his account of the Liparaean islands, twice uses the words *μέχρι τοῦ νῦν* of the continuance of volcanic phenomena in these islands. It would be specially appropriate of volcanic islands which sometimes disappear, e. g. the island between Hieria and Euonymus, the emergence of which is mentioned by Strabo.

Vulcani nomine sacra. Hieria, or Ἱερὰ Ἡφαίστου, now *Vulcano*. In Daubeny's map of the Lipari islands, Stromboli

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is the northernmost, Vulcano the southernmost; between Stromboli and Vulcano, in an almost straight line from N. to S., are *Panaria*, then *Lipari*. Thucydides, iii. 88, after mentioning Lipara, Didyme, Strongyle, Hiera, adds: νομίζουσι δὲ οἱ ἐκείνη ἀνθρώποι ἐν τῇ Ἱέρᾳ ὡς ὁ Ἥφαιστος χαλκεύει, ὅτι τὴν νύκτα φαίνεται πῦρ ἀναδιδοῦσα πολὺ καὶ τὴν ἡμέραν καπνόν. Strab. 275 ταύτης (Lipara) δὲ μεταξὺ πῶς ἐστὶ καὶ τῆς Σικελίας ἦν νῦν Ἱερὰν Ἥφαιστου καλοῦσι, πετρώδης πᾶσα καὶ ἔρημος καὶ διάπυρος. ἔχει δὲ ἀναπνοὰς τρεῖς ὡς ἐκ τριῶν κρατήρων. Scymn. 255 ὧν ἐστὶν Ἱερὰ λεγομένη τις εὐλόγως, Καίόμενα φαίνεται γὰρ ἐξ αὐτῆς πυρὰ Ἀπὸ σταδίων εὐδηλα πᾶσι πλειόνων Καὶ διαπύρων εἰς ὕψος ἀναβολαὶ μύδρων Ἔργα τε σιδηρεὸς τε ῥαιστήρων κτύπος. Aristot. Meteor. ii. 8. 15 ἐν ταύτῃ (Ἱερᾷ Νήσῳ) ἐξανφύει τι τῆς γῆς, καὶ ἀνῆει οἶον λοφώδης ὄγκος μετὰ ψόφου. τέλος δὲ ῥαγέντος ἐξῆλθε πνεῦμα πολὺ, καὶ τὸν φέφαλον καὶ τὴν τέφραν ἀνῆκε, καὶ τὴν τε Λιπαραίων πόλιν οὖσαν οὐ πόρρω πᾶσαν κατετέφρωσε καὶ εἰς ἐνίας τῶν ἐν Ἱταλίᾳ πόλεων ἦλθεν καὶ νῦν ἔτι ὅπου τὸ ἀναφύσημα τοῦτο ἐγένετο δῆλόν ἐστι. The words of the poet, *Vulcani nomine sacra*, point, I think, to the combination Ἱερὰ Ἥφαιστου, mentioned both by Strabo and Diodorus, v. 7.

439 *tamen* is in reference to its association with Vulcan, which might seem to imply that it was ever burning.

incendi, genitive, as in Lucr. vi. 673.

441 *Quae restat*, the part that has not cooled and is still burning.

minor et diues satis ubere terra est 'is smaller than the other part, and is a soil fairly rich in productiveness of material.' Some think the poet alludes here to the little islet called *Vulcanello*, described by Daubeny, p. 260, as 'an isolated rock, which, though without a crater, emits from its crevices vapours of a sulphureous nature, a feeble remnant of the volcanic action by which it was formerly itself thrown up from the bosom of the sea.' This rock seems to date from about 200 B.C., and to be that mentioned by Aristotle περὶ Μετεώρων, ii. 8 (Daubeny).

442 The MS. reading of this verse,

Sed non Aethnei uires quae conferat illi,

is baffling, and eludes certain emendation. If we accept *quae* as genuine, the easiest change is *Aetnaeo*, i.e. *sed non quae conferat uires Aetnaeo illi*, 'but not such as to match its strength

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with that great supply in Aetna': then *illi* will be *uberi*, or perhaps *incendio* from 439; so Haupt, but with *igni* for *illi*.

Munro preferred *Sed non Aetnaeis uires quae conferat illis*, which I have found in the Paris ed. of 1507. This seems to me less probable, as the poet avoids rhyming *-is* with *-is*.

[Scaliger, Le Clerc, and Wernsdorf, accepting *illi* as genuine, prefer to change *quae* to *quas*, and *aethnei* to *Aetnaeis*, i. e. *sed non illi sunt uires quas conferat Aetnaeis*.

[Sudhaus makes *conferat* = 'bestow, impart,' retaining *Aetnaei*, *sed non quae conferat uires Aetnaei (uberis) illi (insulae or terrae)*.]

443 *haec ipsa*, this smaller part that is still active volcano.

444 *adgereret*, a good word, retaining its hold on classical Latin from Plautus to Cicero, thence from Vergil to Pliny, Vitruvius, and Tacitus. *C* has *adgeneret*.

445 *siluam* is here explained by *Materiam*, as i. q. ὕλην: no proof can be drawn from this that the plur. *siluae* in 384 has such a meaning. *suam*, 'its own'; left alone Hiera would have been extinguished long before the poet's time; but a channel under the sea connected it with Aetna, which lent its own materials for conflagration.

canali. Diodor. v. 7 λέγουσι γάρ τινες ἐκ τούτων τῶν νήσων ὑπονόμους εἶναι κατὰ γῆς μέχρι τῆς Αἰτνῆς καὶ τοῖς ἐπ' ἀμφοτέρα στομίους συννημένους· διὸ καὶ κατὰ τὸ πλεῖστον ἐναλλάξ κάεσθαι τοὺς ἐν ταύταις ταῖς νήσοις κρατήρας τῶν κατὰ τὴν Αἰτνὴν. Daubeny p. 264, 'The Lipari islands are so placed with reference to Naples and Sicily, that they seem to form a link between the two countries, whence some have inferred that a subterranean communication passes through them, extending from Etna to Vesuvius': but he declines to pronounce on the point.

446 *posceret* of *C* is explained by Hildebrandt, *Beiträge*, p. 23 note, as 'called out,' 'called for the fire to appear': Luc. i. 29 *desuntque manus poscentibus aruis*. With this the nominative *Siculi uicinia montis* does not well agree: with all other editors I prefer *pasceret*.

447-448 are thus written in *C*:

ta
Sed melius res ipsa notis spectaque uentis
Occurrit signis nec temptat fallere pestem.

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447 uenis *Rehd. Arund.*: ueris *ed. Rubei* 1475, and so *edd. generally*. Perhaps *lentis*, as in *Catull.* lxiv. 183 448
testem *Haupt*.

uentis of C would most naturally be a mistake for *lentis*: the *signa* might be *lenta*, slow or gradually convincing, equally with *uera* or *certa*. In proportion to the slowness would be the sureness.

447 *melius*, comparative of *bene*, to be joined with *occurrit*, meets us better (i.e. with a better voucher) than any mere sign. *Man.* i. 775 *Damnatusque suas melius* (more truly) *damnavit Athenas*.

notis. *Sen. N. Q.* i. 1. 4 *certis rerum notis nuntiet*.

spectataque signis occurrit answers to *nec temptat f. t.*, 'both, 'and not.'

448. *temptat fallere testem* might seem to mean *temptat testem ad fallendum*, as *fallit testis* is of course a regular combination. But the numerous instances, especially in Ovid¹, in which *temptare* is followed by an infinitive in the sense of trying or aiming to effect something, make it almost certain that *testem* depends on *fallere* either as (1) 'fact does not aim at counterfeiting the witness' = 'fact makes no attempt to act the counterfeit witness,' i.e. to pretend to give a true statement when it is really false; or (2) as in the Translation, 'misrepresent the witness': cf. *Prop.* iv. 1. 81 *fallitur auro Iuppiter*, and see Housman in *Classical Review* for 1900, p. 259.

449 *radicibus Aetnae*. *Flor.* iii. 20 *ad imas Vesuvii descendere radices*. *Lucr.* vi. 694 of *Aetna montis ad eius Radices*.

450 *efflant*, 'fume,' a neuter sense also found in *Lucretius*, vi. 681 *Flamma foras uastis Aetnae fornacibus efflet*, 699 *efflare foras*.

451 *Intereunt uenis*, 'die down,' nearly = *restringuntur*; pieces of rock may be seen *smouldering*, with the heat still alive, but

¹ *F.* iv. 883 *suus adsciscere temptat Partibus*; *M.* ix. 479 *nihil uigilans committere templum*; *Ib.* 434 *Temptabisque cibus fallere fraude Iouem*; *Pont.* ii. 2. 55 *ut me defendere temptet, adoro*; *Her.* xx. 190 *casibus istis Quos, quoties templas fallere, ferre soles*; *Am.* iii. 14. 4 *ut temples dissimulare*; and so *Aetn.* 509 *disponere singula causis Templamus*.

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gradually dying out. The abl. *uenis* is constructed with *inter-eunt* much as in Sophocles' *φθίνουσα μὲν κάλυξιν ἐγκάρποις χθονός, φθίνουσα δ' ἀγέλαις βουνόμοις*, O. T. 25, 26.

manifesto ut credere possis: Lucretian, like *ut pernoscere possis*, iii. 181 (Alzinger). Lucretius affects *manifestus* in this sense of something palpable which can be appealed to as a witness, e. g. ii. 867-9.

453 *Cuius defectus ieiunus colligit ignis* C, which, if genuine, must= 'whose failing stores (or, scant leavings) the starved fire gathers together' and consumes, having no other supply. It would be far clearer to write *ieiunos*, 'the failure (i. e. diminishing supply) of which gets together only spare fires.' *colligere* is sometimes used of scraping together small or penurious sums in lack of full or larger. Liv. xxxviii. 45 *stipem a tyrannis castellanisque deviis colligens*: or possibly 'whose dwindling and starved supply (*def. ieiunos*) the fire gathers into one': *defectus* will then be accusative plur., but this is less likely because *ignis* as accusative after *colligit* is supported by *collegit flammās* in 454.

454 *iacit*, as *iacit flammam*, Lucr. vi. 880. *simul ictu*, possibly 'simultaneously with the blow'; Hor. S. i. 10. 86 *simul his*: Ov. Trist. v. 10. 29 *simul nobis*: more probably *simul* is 'at the time it does so,' i. e. when it discharges flame. *ictu*, 'by its impact,' sets the material near it on fire.

456-462 are thus written in C:

Haud equidem mirum facie quæ cernimus extra
Si lenitur opus restat magis uritur illic
Sollicitatque magis uicina incendia saxum
Certaue uenturae praemittit pignora flammæ.
Nam simul atque mouet uiris turbamque minatus
Diffugit exemploque solum trahit ictaque ramis
Et graue sub terra murmur demonstrat et ignes.

456 mirum scute (scate *Ar.*) quod *Rehd. Arund.*: mirum facie qua *Munro*: mira in faciem quae *the present editor, J. of Philol.* 1887, p. 308, *with* restant in 457: Haud equidem mirum: faex est quod cernimus extra *Haupt*: Haud equidem miror faciem: quae cernimus extra, Si lenitur opus, restant *Baehrens* 457 Sed *Rehd.* restat *Rehd.*: reses at *Scaliger*: reses ac *de*

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Serionne 460 *curis Rehd. Arund.* *mimutus Rehd.*: *minatur Ullitius* 461 *extemploque Rehd.* *Before and after this verse something seems to be lost* *ictaque ramis*] *perhaps actaque rimis* 462 *denuntiat Jacob.*

A very doubtful passage, in which, however, one point is fairly clear; there is a contrast between the partially consumed but still burning lava to be seen outside Aetna at its base (*circa latera atque imis radicibus Aetnae*), and the fiercer burning and more potent absorption of other combustibles into itself which the same lava-stone exhibits within the volcano. It is possible, therefore, that *facie* represents the *outward look* of the stone, as seen in the open air, in opposition to the invisible smelting and fusing which goes on inside.

Scaliger thought *restat* was wrong, and conj. for it *reses at*; but though *reses* might well be applied to a volcano in a period of inaction, as Varro uses it of stagnant water (R. R. iii. 17. 8), Claudian of waves in subsidence (Epigr. 86. 2), the nominative sing. is rare, and the sudden break in the rhythm improbable.

Munro, retaining *facie*, wrote the passage:

Non equidem mirum facie, qua cernimus extra,

Si lenitur, opus restat;

paraphrasing thus, 'the effects of the *lapis molaris*, when the fury of the eruption is abated, *si lenitur (opus)*, are not so wonderful in the appearance they present to us outside the mountain (*extra*): rather is it, when it is on fire in the crater (*illic*) and sets in flames all about it, that its terrors are shown.'

My former conj., as stated above, was a modification of this. I now consider it improbable.

The variants for *facie* in the other MSS., *scute* of *Rehd.*, *scate* of *Arund.*, may point to a quite different tradition, possibly to *scaterest*. This verb occurs several times in Lucr. e.g. v. 598, 952; vi. 895, 896 *sic igitur per eum possunt erumpere fontem Et scatere illa foras in stuppam semina*, where Munro notes 'he uses *scatere* of the seeds of fire, but they may be said to be part of the fountain.' In our poem we have seen *scatet* disguised in 431, where it is used of a copious supply of sulphur¹.

¹ Pliny xxxv. 239 *innumerabiles parui sed naturales scatent ignes* uses *scatere* with no idea of fluidity.

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The passage might then have been :

Non equidem mirum *scaterest* quae cernimus extra :

Si lenitur opus, restat : magis uritur illic, &c. ;

which might be paraphrased, 'non mirum est fontis instar hic illic oboriri quae cernimus : lenius quidem factum est opus lapidis illius qui circa latera Aetnae sic restinguitur, non tamen nullum est, sed uiuit necdum uenit ad interitum : quo autem consumitur tardius diutiusque durat, hoc minus debemus admirari si multis locis ante oculos intereuntem uidemus.'

illic of MSS. is hard : it seems to mean *in that other* centre, the interior of Aetna : if this be the meaning, the poet might have spared his readers much perplexity by writing *intus*.

458 *Sollicitat*, amatorie, as in Ov. M. xiv. 670. The *lapis molaris* solicits the adjoining combustibles to burn with it.

460 *uiris* and *minatus* of the Cambridge MS. (C) restore light to this verse which the other MSS. had wholly perverted. Munro is obviously right in marking a lacuna after it ; if *ictaque ramis* is genuine, there must be another lacuna after 461. It is not likely that *Et . . . et* in 462 = 'both,' 'and,' a use avoided by our poet. Munro thought the nomin. agreeing with *minatus* was *lapis* ; but *saxum* is the immediately preceding word. May it not be *mons*, or a similar masc. such as *spiritus*, which has fallen out in the lacuna ? I doubt whether the *lapis* would have been described as setting its powers in motion and threatening turmoil.

461 *Diffugit*, recedes on either side, probably the *earth*, which might be said, *solum trahere*¹, to draw or pull its surface away. Lucr. i. 1102 *moenia mundi Diffugiant*.

exemplo C for *extemplo* as the ninth-century Vaticanus of Val. Flacc. vi. 753.

*ramis*² might perhaps be ramifications or branching veins in the rock ; as Lucr. uses *ramosus* of branching particles, ii. 446,

¹ Possibly *solum trahit*=drags away the ground from the feet by splitting open.

² *Ramis* would be a natural word to describe the dykes which are often found interpenetrating volcanic beds, such as are figured by Daubeny, p. 249, in the case of Stromboli, and p. 277 in the Val di Bove, on the east side of Aetna.

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and of clouds that spread out like branches, vi. 133: but it may also be an error for *raris*, agreeing with a lost *foraminibus* in the following verse; or again *icta ramis* may possibly be a perversion of *acta rimis*; for, as Le Clerc long ago pointed out, *rimas agere* = 'to crack,' 'split open,' is regular. Ov. M. ii. 211 *Fissaque agit rimas (tellus)*, x. 512 *Arbor agit rimas*.

[Sudhaus, accepting 460-462 as correctly given by MSS. and continuous, explains: 'For as soon as the lava-stone sets its powers in motion and threatening disturbance flies off and draws with it the ground following its initiative (*exemplo*), as well as the substances struck upon by its branching veins.' On this view *icta* is accus. plur. neuter; *ramis* = *πάσσους*, 'veins in the stone,' Theophr. de caus. plant. iv. 12. 6, and so in the fragm. de lapid.; and the apodosis begins at 463 *Tum pauidum fugere*.]

462' *grauē murmur*. Brydone, *Tour in Sicily*, p. 93, speaks of the heavy dull bellowing of the mountain.

demonstrat could not be 'exhibits' with *murmur*, *ignes* as object accusatives: they are nominatives, and *demonstrat* has its proper sense of indicating or signaling.

463 *sacris*, supernatural; so *diuinis rebus*, 369. Lucan x. 198 has *sacras leges* of the divine ordinances which the Nile obeys.

464 as given in C,

Parere et tuto speculaberis omnia collis
(and so *Rehd.* but with + appended in the right margin to mark that the verse was wrong), cannot be certainly restored. *Parere* may be, as Scaliger thought, *Par erit*, or, as Sudhaus conj., *Par rere*. Again, *et* may be *e* as Scal. thought, or *ex* as I prefer: *collis* may depend on *e(x) tuto* or be an error for *colli*.

1. *Par rere* (Sudhaus) for *parere* is very near the MS. and the spondaic elision in *-re* at this part of the verse would have many parallels in Lucr., e.g. i. 608 *haerere unde queant*, 846 *errare atque illi*; ii. 10 *Errare atque uiam*; iv. 1148 *exire et ualidos*. Against it is to be put the fact that *par est*, *uidetur*, or some other verb in the 3rd pers. sing., seems the norm. An imperative, if found at all, is exceptional.

2. *et* is constantly interchanged with *ex*, as perhaps in 430. See my Noct. Manil. pp. 4, 10, 35; and in Sen. de Ira, ii. 29. 2

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ex longinquo tutoque speculetur is given by Gertz' excellent MS. A.

465 This verse has two unclassical uses :

1. *effervent*, not found in any writer of authority. The infinitive *effervēre* however occurs in Lucr. ii. 928, Verg. Georg. iv. 556.

2. *honerosa* in the sense of 'loaded with' followed by abl. of the thing loading: usually *honerosus* = burdensome, and is followed by a dat. of the thing burdened, as in Ov. M. ix. 54 *tergoque honerosus inhaesit*. The *h* is quite correct, as in *holus*: see Munro's note. No weight can be given to Rehd.'s v. l. *numerosa*. *raptis* seems to give the idea of the rocks which have been dislodged and are now in upheaval as so much *spoil* of the flames. [Ulitiū conj. *operosae incendia rupis*.]

466 *truncae*, 'mutilated,' torn into shapeless masses.

467 The order is *Prouoluunt exam. harenae adque astra sonant*, the last three words interjected and not affecting the construction of *examina* as depending on *Prouoluunt*. This interjection of the clause is justified by the poet's wish to connect closely in words, as they are in nature, the terrific sound in the sky with the rising of the huge masses of rock which are ejected from the crater, and carry with them quantities of sand. [The MS. reading *truncaequē ruinae Prouoluunt atque atra sonant ex. harenae* leaves *Prouoluunt* without an accus., and must I think be wrong.]

469-473 describe the fantastic shapes which the ejected rocks assume. They have a human semblance, some like troops under defeat, some maintaining a sturdy resistance to the flames: here the burning lava refuses to give in and spreads out its contingents, there it is gradually abating, and its force dying down.

468 *incertae*, irregular, i.e. such as might present a different notion to different observers.

469 Birt compares 185 *Pars igni domitae, pars ignes ferre coactae*.

469 *domitā stantis*, as in so many cases in Catullus, xvii. 24, xxii. 12, xlv. 18, lxiii. 53, lxiv. 186, lxvii. 32; in Tibullus i. 5. 28;

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Propertius iii. 11. 46; Luc. v. 118; and several times in Sil. Italicus and Martial: so too Stat. Theb. vi. 551. (Ramsay, *Manual of Latin Prosody*, pp. 273-277. Add Gratt. Cyneg. 142.)

Munro's *domitast stantis* sounds to me very harsh; if any change be needed, I should prefer *domita: at stantis. stanti C Rehd.* and so Sudhaus, = 'part is firm strength (*robora*) for a standing fight.' With the genitive, *robora* (sc. *sunt*) nearly = 'is a sturdy standing fight,' i.e. is the semblance of such a fight: logically this is better.

470 *recipit* admits the approach of the flames. Ov. F. v. 403 *recepta . . . toto corpore pestis erat*; M. xi. 416 *intima frigus ossa receperunt*. So *recipere ferrum* of a gladiator taking his death.

hinc indefessus anhelat for *hinc defensus a.* of *C* was suggested by the present writer in 1887, *J. of Philol.* p. 308, and I find the same conj. in Sudhaus' ed. of 1898. *indefessus* (sc. *hostis*), the fire.

471 *aperit se* comes into clear view, as in Aen. vii. 448 *Tantaque se facies aperit*, or possibly 'opening out,' as Quintilian i. prooem. 3 speaks of his subject *opening out* more widely, *latius se aperiente materia*.

spiritus is explained by Sudh. and Birt as 'gas-hauch,' its usual sense in this poem. The combination with *decrescit* would better suit its more common use, 'high spirit,' 'fierceness,' 'vehemence': so *crescit licentia spiritus*, Sen. de Ira, ii. 21. 3.

[I cannot agree with Sudh. in referring *indefessus* to *spiritus*, as if *aperit se hostis* could be quasi-parenthetical, expressing the result on the lava (produced by the intensity of the *spiritus*), of opening its pores: nor with Birt, who conj. *donec defessus* for *hinc defensus* of *C*.]

472 *laeto*, 'triumphant.'

tropaeo. Trophies were sometimes constructed of stone: this may have determined the choice of the word.

473 *castra sub ipsa*: some of the rocks ejected lie close to the crater: this would represent *castra sub ipsa*.

474 sqq. After a simile (469-472) which certainly gives but a poor impression of his powers, the poet again returns to the prose of actual fact, and describes the look of the lava-stone

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(1) 474-476, as it burns in single specimens, (2) in a heap, (3) in a stream.

474 *si quis lapidum*. He imagines his reader coming upon a piece of rock lying by itself, and burning at its surface, if this is the meaning of *summo igni*: it cannot = *maximo* (Munro), and would be a contradiction in language if it meant 'reaching from the centre to the top,' i. q. *penitissimo*: see on *summis causis*, 158. The only other sense possible is, 'the fire at the top of the volcano,' i.e. in the crater: but how could such a fact be ascertained?

475 is thus written in C:

Asperior sopitaes et quaedam sordida faex est.

sopita est *Rehd. Arund.*: scobis iis *P. Pithou*: scabres *Scal.*: species *Munro*: solito est *Damsté*: sopita *Le Clerc*: tophis *Franke*. The word is still unemended. sopito the present editor *Journ. of Philol.* 1892, p. 235, and so before me *Maehly*.

The only palaeographical clue yet offered for *sopitaes* is Munro's suggestion that *-aes* represents a nom. fem. in *-es*; this is a frequent phenomenon in MSS.; but the actual word which Munro suggested, *species*, cannot be thought likely. In Postgate's *Corpus* I have printed *Maehly's* conj. *sopito*, which is possible Latin and makes fair sense: it would be dative, sc. *igni*, when the fire is quenched its residuum is a dirty kind of slag.

[Can *sopilaes* be a corruption of *saeptis* or *saepteis*? see on 409.]

476 *cernes C* with the other MSS. 'You will see' if you make the experiment, 195.

477 *exiluit sublata = exiluit et se sustulit. caducis saxis*, another of the datives our poet affects.

478 *Congeries*: 206 *Congeries operit saxorum et putris harena. angusto vertice surgunt* is considered by Sudh. and Hild. parenthetical, the apod. to *ubi* in 477 thus beginning at 479 *Sic ueluti in fornace*. This seems to me doubtful, though it gives¹ a good meaning, since the gradual up-tapering of the

¹ i.e. on my view of the meaning of *ang. uert. surg.* which is not Sudhaus', who explains *ang. uert.* of the narrow funnel of the crater.

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stones would prepare the way for the comparison of these rock-heaps to a kiln. I prefer to make *ang. u. surg.* the apod. to *ubi*: 'they rise with a narrowing apex,' i.e. narrow gradually as they mount upwards. [Le Clerc conj. *sursum*, Jacob *surgens*.]

479 *sic ueluti*, 'just as in a kiln': *sic* adding to the exactness of the description.

fornace is a very general term: 'here it clearly means a *fornax calcaria* or lime-kiln, fully described by Cato, de re Rust. 38; his proportions are 10 feet broad at bottom, 3 at top, 20 high; and hence we get a good notion of how a heap of these stones would go on burning till reduced to cinders, after the loss of the part that turns liquid,' Munro.

480 *subit altius*, if rightly given by MSS., refers to the lime-stone in the kiln, not to the lava which is compared with it: for the fluid part of lava is immediately described not as evaporating, but as pouring down the mountain in a gradually increasing flood. [Baehrens conj. *abit altitilis*.] Transl. 'Just as in a lime-kiln the stone is calcined, losing in evaporation the whole of its fluid part when burnt out in the veins of the stone.'

481 *opibus*, its wealth, what gives it value or importance among its brother stones: its real substance.

levis et sine pondere pumex Excutitur, 'it is sifted off a light imponderable pumice'; nearly = *quod eius excussum est fit pumex*. Vitruvius mentions a kind of pumice called *spongia* about Aetna, ii. 8. 3.

482 *liquor*, the fluid lava which gradually swells into a flood.

483 *mitis* is ill supported by Vergil's *Mitis ut in morem stagni placidaequae paludis Sterneret aequor aquis*, Aen. viii. 88 for no one would think of comparing a lava-flood with a lake or marsh: if genuine it must refer to the slow motion of the liquid in its first beginning, before it assumes its more rapid and destructive character. This would suit *tandem Incipit*. No conj. of any likelihood has yet been offered.

484 *prunis C: primis* Arund.: *pronis* Suringar, and so Munro. It is difficult to decide: *primis* need not imply more than that at whatever point in the crust the lava broke out, it began with pouring down the slopes of the hills, then by

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degrees advanced, on reaching level ground, to a distance of twelve Roman miles. *pronis* is poetically better, suggesting one cause of the progress of the lava-flood, namely the sloping nature of the descent which it has to traverse before reaching the level.

486 *curtis* of *C*, *cartis* of *Rehd. Arund.* is probably *certis* (Wernsdorf). The steady resolute advance of the lava-stream is one of its most alarming symptoms.

[Munro preferred *curvis*, Birt *tortis*. Sudh. retains *curtis*, 'trummerführenden Feuerstrom' or 'trummerartige Feuermassen.' I do not quite understand this, and Birt thinks it impossible. If *curtis* was written by the poet, it ought to mean 'short,' 'abridged,' i.e. dwarfed and not of the fully-developed size and altitude which lava-billows sometimes assume. Such an abridged height might, I suppose, mark the lava-waves on an unobstructed level, where there is no slope to give them extra dip and no obstacle confronts them to cause the *climbing*, which modern explorers so often mention as occurring at intervals in the lava-stream's progress¹.

487 'No massy obstacle bars the way ineffectually,' *frustra*, because when any such barrier does present itself, the lava overpowers it, climbing, for instance, high walls. The construction is somewhat akin to Cat. lxiv. 103 *Non ingrata tamen frustra munuscula diuis Promittens*.

simul omnia pugnant, not 'everything is fighting on the same side,' but 'everything is in conflict at the same time.' The stream takes into itself a variety of objects, carrying them along with it: rocks, stones, trees, boughs, large masses of earth, &c. These clash and collide with each other. Similarly, Ovid M. v. 150 *coniurata undique pugnant Agmina*.

488, 489

Nunc siluae rupesque notant haec tela solumque

Ipsa adiutat opes facilesque sibi induit amnis. *C*.

Of the emendations offered for *notant*, two are more likely

¹ The passage would then mean 'the fires are of under-size and encounter no obstacle,' which would increase their bulk and add to their volume.

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(palaeographically) than the rest: *rotant* of Wernsdorf, *natant* of Baehrens,

rotant I would explain: wood, cliff, and pieces of soil are the agents that *launch on their course*¹ these weapons of death, viz. the lava-waves that spread destruction where they come, as surely as the missiles of an invading army.

This leaves *Nunc* to stand by itself with little meaning, 'Now you may see.' The sense is besides obscure.

natant is the word we should look for in a description of the lava-flood: the substances it absorbs, if able to resist the fire, swim on its surface; then *haec tela* might be *hic terra*², in which *hic* would answer to *Nunc*. Alzinger's objection that the substances are burnt and therefore cannot swim, is true of the whole result, but not of any moment during which the stream is observed: a large mass of rock or a solid piece of timber is not reduced without some resistance. Brydone, *Tour*, p. 85, tells a story of the eruption of 1669 which illustrates *solumque*. The lava-stream encountered a vineyard planted on an ancient lava, the crevices of which the liquid poured into, and filled them up, till by degrees the whole vineyard began to move off; it was carried on the surface of the stream to a considerable distance, and though the greater part of it was destroyed, some part remained to the time when Brydone visited Etna (1770)³.

489 *Ipsa* seems an error for *Ipse* (amnis), hardly for *ipsum* (solum). *faciles* was thought by Kooten to be an error for

¹ Or perhaps 'whirl round' the various substances which are absorbed.

² *terra* is a conj. of Haupt's.

³ This is told in a more reliable form by Borelli, p. 24, and dated April 4, 1669: 'Peruenerat profluuium illud ex liquida et saxosa materia usque ad collem cretaceum uinetis undique consitum religiosorum Societatis Iesu, et postquam undique flumen ignitum collem circumiuit, eumque maximo impetu percussit, arietauitque, tandem collem cum uinetis integro transtulit e pristino loco usque ad fundum alienum, incedebatque uinea cum eius solo ueluti innatando pensilis, quo usque superueniente altiori profluuiio materiae ignitae post paucos dies denuo a glareis repleta et cooperta tota uinea fuit.'

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faciem, as Ovid has *induere uultum figuram formam faciem*. *Faciles*, however, is defensible, sc. *opes*, the lava adjusts (or conforms) to itself the easily assimilating materials that float on it, rock, earth, timber, &c.¹

491 *Vipote* qualifies *inaequalis*. The unevennesses of the ground cause the lava to expatiate leisurely (*perpascitur*): as a flock browse here and there at their will.

492 *Ingeminant*, neut., as in G. i. 333 *ingeminant austri*.

stantibus undis might be abl., as Sudhaus explains, 'while the waves (of lava) rear up,' or as I have translated it, 'sounds noisily with up-standing waves' (so also Birt). It is, perhaps, more probably dat., 'calls impatiently to the standing waves,' sc. to come on; comp. *inrepatare*, Prop. ii. 26. 15, and Lucr.'s *hoc alicui nostrum sic increpet ipsa*, iii. 932, where, however, the accus. *hoc* makes a difference.

[Munro, reading *ingeminat fluctus*, translates "it dashes with a loud noise its waves in motion on its waters which are standing," i. e. which have stuck in the hollows (491).] On this view *fluctus* must be supplied as accusative after *increpat*.]

493 *Sicut cum rapidum curuo mare cernulus aestu* of C can only be retained by isolating *cernulus*, sc. amnis, 'dipping forward, as when some violent sea (dips forward) with a cresting tide'; *cernulum est* supplied to *mare* from *cernulus*. But *Sicut cum*, as I suggested in 1892 (*Journ. of Philol.*, p. 231), may very well be an imitation of Homeric *ὥς ὄρε*.

cernulus, or a word ending in *-us*, is found in all the MSS. But the construction which it necessitates is so harsh and unusual as to make Jacob's conj. *cernulat* more than probable. Nettleship, *Contributions to Latin Lexicography*, p. 410, shows that *cernulare*, as well as *cernuare*, was an existing form.

[Vollmer's *turbo* for *curuo* seems to me wrong: *curuo* (κῦμα

¹ Alzinger illustrates the words by a quotation from Nic. Specialis, who has described the eruption of Etna of 1329 as he had himself witnessed it. Rer. Sicul. viii. 2 'Effluebat autem hiatibus illis riuus igneus uelut metallorum liquentium in fornace, occurrentem tellurem exurens, in lapides et in minimos calculos ingentia saxa dissoluens.'

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κυρτωθέν) is the right epithet to *aestu*, and well accords with the arched shape of the waves implied by *cernulus* or *cernulat*; but there is no idea of a hurricane or whirlwind in the passage; nor can *agit* well be dragged from its place in another clause to give a verb to *cernulus turbo*. If *turbo* was written by the poet, which with Birt I think unlikely, the verb would more naturally be *increpat*, 'strikes a rushing sea'; but what then is *aestu* ?]

494 Ac primum tenuis imas agit ultiores

Progrediens late diffunditur et succernens. C.

494 tenuis . . . agit (*sic*) *Rehd.* simas *the Helmstadt MS.*: sinuans *Scaliger*: simas *Munro*: simans *the present editor*. In the *Journ. of Philol.* 1892, p. 231, I had suggested that simas (? cymas), 'an architectural moulding, hollow in its upper surface, but swelling below' (*Rich, Companion*, p. 603), might have been transferred here to the undulation of a wave stirred, but not strongly, by the wind. This would supply a noun with which tenuis (*accus. plur.*) would agree.

Munro extracted an intelligible sense by changing *imas* to *simas*: he punctuated thus

Ac primum tenuis, simas agit ultiores.

'Its *undae* (492) are first *tenuis*, then, as they go on, become more and more *simas*, curling or turned up.'

Hardly enough, perhaps, has been said about the unusual rhythm at the end of the verse *ultiores*: yet this is the only certain instance in *Aetna* of such a licence. Nor has it been observed that the very same word occurs in the same place in Germanicus' *Aratea* 429 Breysig:

Huic primos tortus crater premit, ulterioris

Vocali rostro coruus forat.

Yet the rule which the two poets followed in allowing this pentasyllable to form the fifth and sixth feet of a hexameter may well have been the same, namely, to make a pause after the fourth foot, and to make this foot not only a dactyl, but a dactyl of which the $\cup\cup$ form a separate word (*agit, premit*).

On this hypothesis I write the verse of *Aetna* thus:

Ac primum tenuis simans agit, ultiores

and mark a lacuna after 494. Transl., 'and first drives them

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(the waves) on, small in size and curving them flatly: such as are farther on [larger and with more of a billowy look.]. With *simas* (? *cymas*), 'and first traces (*agit*) only slight undulations.'

[Birt, *Philol.* 1898, p. 636, retains *imas* of MSS.

Ac primum tenuis, imas agit ulteriores, 'and first pushes on waves of small size, afterwards, when they have plunged into a valley¹ (*imas*), spreads them further out,' and so Hildebrandt, *Beiträge*, p. 24. But (1) could *imas* possibly mean this? (2) *ulteriores* is palpably opposed, not to *tenuis*, but to *primum*, as Munro saw.

The difficulty of *imas* is not solved by so violent an interpretation. It is safer to accept the milder alternative of supposing that *s* of *simas* has fallen out after *tenuis*, the more so that this is actually found in the Helmstadt MS.]

495 *succernens* was first translated by Munro 'sifting out,' i.e. the stones not yet molten and other substances. And so Birt, p. 636. After this verse there is obviously another lacuna.

496 *ripis* was explained by Le Clerc and Wernsdorf of river-banks, on reaching which the lava (*flumina*) halts: and certainly in 506 he seems to speak of its crossing the Symaethus as exceptional. It is far more probable that *flumina* and *ripis* are correlatives, and *flumina* being the lava-stream, *ripis* must be the outer or bounding edges of the stream on either side, which as the lava comes to a stand-still, are arrested with it.

durant, neuter, as probably in Verg. Ecl. vi. 35.

497 *messis*, a natural comparison, 'waving field of flame,' moulded on Vergil's *seges horret Ferrea* (Aen. xii. 663), a field of bristling sword-points: *atraque late Horrescit strictis seges ensibus* (Aen. vii. 525).

499 *Effumat*, 'discharges a fume': ἀπ. λεί.

501 *inflexa* of MSS. is perhaps *infixa*, an occasional form of the participle of *infigo*. Goetz, *Thesaur. Glossar. Emendat.* p. 573 *infixa* ἐνθλίβεισα. So Scaliger.

pulsatos is referred by Sudhaus to the ἀντιρροία produced by each impact, 'blows and counter-blows.' Plut. M. 929 δεῖ τὸ

¹ and are thus at their lowest.

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ποιήσον ἀντιτυπίαν τινὰ καὶ κλάσιν ἐμβριθὲς εἶναι καὶ πυκνόν, ἵνα πρὸς αὐτὸ πληγὴ καὶ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ φορὰ γένηται. More naturally 'blows conveyed by its striking' = which it conveys in striking; in this case the process of striking and the actual blow are thought of separately.

503-504 *Emicat examen plagis ardentia saxa*

Scintillas procul esse fides procul esse ruentis

Incolumi feruore cadunt. C.

No verse has raised more discussion than 504; *scintillas, esse, fides* have each been treated as wrong; whence many diverse emendations. Scaliger changed *scintillas* to *scintillant* (which would imply an early confusion of *-at* with *-as*), *este fides* to *ecce fide*; then *procul fide* would be like *procul dubio*: and *ruentis* (*ruentes*) nom. to *cadunt*. Le Clerc followed Scal., except that he wrote *uide* for *fide*: and so Wernsdorf.

D'Orville also accepted *Scintillant*, but wrote the rest of the verse *procul este sudes, procul este tridentes*, with the improbable meaning, that stakes and levers might as well retire, as they would be of no avail in getting rid of the lava.

In this conj. of D'Orville's, however, there is much to be said for *este*, a sudden apostrophe to curious observers to get out of the way: I have followed him so far, with the change of *fides* to *pedes*, 'away, ye feet, away with all your speed.' Cf. Plautus' *propera, pedes hortare*, Stich. ii. 2. 8. Sil. xvii. 28 *procul hinc, moneo, procul hinc, quaecumque profanae, Ferte gradus*. Sen. de Constant. Sapient. xix. 1 *procul auferendi pedes sunt*. The connexion of this with *Incolumi feruore cadunt* is thus very clear, 'away with all speed, for the burning masses lose none of their glowing heat in falling.'

[Haupt wrote the passage

ardentia saxa

Scintillae procul ecce uides procul ecce ruentis

Incolumi feruore cadunt.

Munro follows *C* without alteration,

Scintillas procul esse fides, procul esse ruentis.

'The constr. is *saxa, scintillas procul esse fides est plagis*: the fact that burning stones, that sparks are far away, far away as they fall to the ground, is a proof that this is caused by blows.'

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Sudhaus :

Scintillae procul ecce fides, procul ecce ruentis (or, ruentes).
 'The sparks, see there in the distance, are proof thereof (of the lava still retaining its heat), see there in the distance, the falling sparks, for they do not lose their glow,' thus agreeing with Munro that *fides*=the proof, voucher: cf. 515 *Et figulos huic esse fidem.*]

505-507

uerum impetus ignes

Simethi quondam ut ripas traiecerit amnis

Vix iunctis quisquam fixo dimouerit illas. C.

505 ingens *Baehrens*

506 Si uel fumanti *Rehd. Arund.*

This is obviously a corruption of ^{uel Su} *Simaethi. Ribbeck mentions Sumoetia as a v. l. in Aen. ix. 584 quondam is omitted in Rehd. 507 uncis the present editor, J. of Philol. 1887, p. 309. I have since found among the vv. ll. of MS. D'Orv. x. i. 6. 6 unco faxo Munro.*

In 1887 I wrote as follows :

The poet 'here contrasts the impetuous onset of the lava-flood, which was sufficiently strong to carry it over the bed of the river Symaethus, with the utter immobility of the same lava-stream when hardened and solidified afterwards. Hence *ut* is "though": *illas* are the banks which no effort of human skill can, afterwards, part clear again from the immovable lava-mass which now crosses them. But *iunctis*, though retained by Munro, is so extraordinarily harsh that I think it must be wrong, and I would read for it *uncis*, grappling-irons or grips which might naturally be used for hauling up heavy weights, or getting stronger hold upon them.'

iunctis, if right, must be *ignibus*, *illas*, sc. ripas: in this Munro, Buecheler, Sudhaus are agreed.

Munro, however (1867), held a different view of *ut*. 'But when its force has carried the stream of fire over the banks of Symaethus, scarce any one, I warrant (*faxo*), will sever them from the fiery mass that has joined them.'

He therefore explained *ut* 'when'; if so, *quondam* must be 'at some time.'

Sudhaus explains *ut quondam* 'if only some day': *iunctis*,

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sc. ignibus, abl. absol., 'supposing the fires to have joined.' *fixo* (amni) *uix quisquam dimouerit illas* (ripas), 'will scarcely part those banks away to free (the course of) the now fixed river,' i. e. will part the lava-masses and make a free passage for the temporarily-arrested water. He here follows mainly Buecheler.

Buecheler, however (*Rh. Mus.* liv. p. 5), differs from Sudh. in explaining *ut* in close relation to *Incolumi feruore cadunt*, 'but they fall with such an impetus as at some former time to have carried the fire across the Symaethus: at that time it must have been a difficult task to recover the course of the stream: and in our time it takes often many days to move the lava-masses out of the way.' The position of *ut* not at the beginning of its clause, but removed from it by three preceding words, would be very Ciceronian, e. g. Sest. xliii. 93 *uillam aedificare tantam, tugurium ut iam uideatur esse illa uilla quam . . . olim in contionibus explicabat*.

The main points of doubt are (A) the meaning of *ut quondam*, (B) of *fixo*.

A. (1) *ut quondam* in Vergil = 'as at some time,' G. iii. 99, iv. 261. This cannot be the meaning here: nor, 'as once,' Aen. v. 588.

(2) *quondam* in all the other four *Aetna* instances quoted in Wagler's Index = formerly.

(3) The combination *ut quondam* = 'when at some time,' is so rare as to be almost unexampled.

(4) *uerum* (505) has a special attraction to *ut* = *quamuis*, 'however, allowing that.' Dräger, *Hist. Synt.* ii. p. 730, quotes two cases. Cic. pro Tull. 54 *uerum ut esses durissimus*, and 56 *uerum ut hoc tibi credam*. This makes slightly against Buecheler's view.

B. The easiest view of *fixo* is to consider it a participial substantive: *hausti*, Aetn. 407, *exhausti*, Geor. ii. 398, which Servius explains as *exhaustionis*: thus *fixum* = 'a state of fixity.' So *solutum*, *debitum*, *constitutum*, *expectatum*, &c.; cf. *corruptum* (Cels. v. 28. 13).

The choice seems, therefore, to lie between Buecheler's view and my own. If the former is right, and *ut* = 'so that,' Baehrens' *ingens* for *ignes* would make the meaning clearer, and take from

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the abruptness caused by the omission of *est*, 'but its onset is enormous, such that at some time in the past it crossed the Symaethus.' On my view, it makes little difference whether *ignes* or *ingens* is read; the real difficulty is to give *ut* = 'though,' an adequate meaning. Such a sense I find in the *contrast* of the rushing lava in its liquid state, and the immobility which sets in after it has cooled and hardened.

506 *Symaethi* here, and so Verg. Aen. ix. 584. *Symaeth.* Ov. M. xiii. 750, 879, Sil. xiv. 232. Freeman, *Hist. of Sicily*, i. p. 81, 'It is in the fields of Catania, and in the highlands behind them that we see, as nowhere else in Sicily, a river-system of some considerable extent. The Symaithos drains a large part of the island; it receives tributaries from several points of the compass, and their united waters enter the eastern sea by a single mouth.' Silius Italicus speaks of its *yellow* waters *rapidique colunt uada flaua Symaethi*, xiv. 232.

508 '*dies* C and all MSS. *pedes* D'Orville. Though this emendation is accepted by Wernsdorf, Munro, Baehrens, I venture to doubt it. For it involves two suppositions, each of which is purely hypothetical: (1) that *pe* of *pedes* might be absorbed in the former *pe* of *persaepe*; (2) that *des* was then changed into *dies*. This implies a sort of corruption in the text of the poem which can hardly be paralleled in it elsewhere, if we take C as representing its earliest and best condition. And the change is certainly not necessary: for the masses might quite as well be described as lying immovable for twenty days together as buried twenty feet in the ground.' *J. of Philol.* 1887, p. 232. Sudhaus has restored *dies* (1898). *Vicenos* is a necessary emendation: *uicinos* can have no meaning.

509-534 Beware of clinging to the delusive belief that the *lapidis molaris* is not uniform in substance, but liquefies in virtue of one of its constituent portions, hardens in obedience to another, just as when potters' clay is submitted to the action of a furnace, it has an inner substance which fuses, distinct from the rest. It would be truer to compare the *molaris* with copper under smelting; whether smelted or not, you recognize the copper; so the *molaris*, whether in its liquefied state or not, conserves its characteristics unaltered. Its black colour is alone

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enough to prove how truly it is always one and the same. But I would not deny that particular kinds of stone, besides the *molaris*, have the property of burning fiercely : yes, but they do not liquefy, unless brought in contact with the *molaris*.

511 *fauillae proprietate*, 'by their cinderous property.' Munro shows that this use of *proprietas* is common in the younger Seneca. It is frequent also in Pliny's Natural History and Vitruvius.

512 *simul concrescere* = coire et concrescere.

sive, 'or it may be,' 'or perhaps.'

513 i.e. *quod flagrat, esse sulphur commixtum bitumine*.

514 *robora*, sc. cretae, the inner substance of potters' clay.

515 *huic fidem*, an attestation to this fact : i.e. potters may be appealed to as vouchers for its occurrence. Liv. xxi. 13. 3 *uestra causa me loqui quae loquor uel ea fides sit*.

517 *signum commune* = σημεῖον κοινόν, a sign which has more than one application, opposed to *proprium*, ἴδιον [Sudh.]. Similar is the use of *loci communes* or *proprii*, ad Herenn. ii. 6, arguments which may be used alternately by accuser and accused, or arguments which only an accuser, or an accused can employ. The constr. is *sed hoc, utpote signum commune, leue est nec nisi irrita causa et carens firmamento* : 'this, as a mere general sign, is of slight weight, and is a trifling argument that wavers dubiously.'

519 *arguti*, 'ringing,' as *arguta aera*, Sil. xvii. 18, 1 Cor. xiii. 1 χαλκὸς ἤχων. Sudh. wrongly explains it as 'distinct,' 'expressive' = ἐναργεῖς.

aeris et ignis, MSS., perhaps rightly : 'for such as is the quality of copper and fire, when copper has been fused,' i.e. just as in these, when combined the one to fuse the other, the substance of the fused metal remains substantially unaltered. But though this is possible, the poet wishing to emphasize by the double genitive the combination of the two elements, the fusing fire and the fused metal, it is more than probable that *et ignis*, as Scal. thought, a corruption of *ab igni*.

520, 521 is so written in *C* :

Cum domitum est constat eademque et robore saluo
Vltraque ut possis aeris cognoscer portam.

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520 Constans *Haupt, Munro.* 521 Vtraque *Munro*, 'in both cases,' i.e. both fused and solid. *cognoscere Rehd. Arund.* portam *Rehd. Ar.*: formam *P. Pithou in D'Orv.* x. 1. 6. 6 and so *Baehrens*: partem *Le Clerc*: sortem *the present editor.*

Most critics, I believe, will recognize here that MSS. are corrupt. *Constat* before *eadem* is metrically faulty, and would be an easy depravation of *constās*; again, after *uelut natura est aeris cum domitum est*, we look for an adjective co-ordinate with *eademque et robore saluo*, not another final verb like *constat*. *Vltraque* for *Vtraque* is one of the commonest forms of mediaeval miswriting. Whether *portam* is right, or is an error, possibly for *formam*, is an open question.

Sudhaus, after Buecheler, translates 521 as the MSS. give it, 'and, to proceed a step farther (*ultraque*), allowing you to recognize (when you see it) a door of bronze': the scientific observer being supposed to find in *aes*, even when he sees it in door-form, a speaking and indubitable demonstration of the constancy with which a metal retains its natural quality unaltered.

Vltraque, 'going farther,' i.e. when a farther step in working up the metal has been taken, and the bronze assumes the shape of a door.

This use of *ultraque* needs the support of other instances; it is an awkward way, if genuine, of confirming the general statement as to the constant quality of *aes*, by a further appeal to the metal worked up into a particular shape, i.e. a door. To my feeling it is too awkward, too prosaic, to accord with the dignified, even where matter-of-fact, Muse of our poet.

Vtraque, before or after fusing (*Munro*).

partem. The amount would be different. *sortem*, my conj. for *portam* of MSS., would express the same idea with more particularity, 'the allotted share,' or 'the share assigned' to copper. Or, *partem* may mean only that in any given quantity of mineral in which copper is present, it is easy to recognize and distinguish the presence of copper whether before or after fusing. This would agree with *Munro's* 'copper you know to be copper after it is fused as well as before.'

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525, 526 Few vv. are so difficult as these. *C* gives

Quin etiam externam multis color ipse refellit
multus *Rehd. Arund.* resoluit *Rehd.*

To what noun does *externam* refer? Sudh. supplies *materiam*, which is so far off as to be nowhere in sight or memory. I had thought of *naturam*, which occurs five lines before; this would give a good sense: any idea of an extraneous substance in the lava-stone is disproved by the colour. But *etiam* may be the remains of a truncated accusative, such as *speciem* (often written *spetiem*): *spec. extern.* might be 'an alien semblance,' or possibly (*J. of Philol.* 1887, p. 233) 'an external look' in which the lapis molaris might resemble other stones and be thought to partake of their substance or nature. *multis* of *C* is explained by Sudh. 'with much circumstance,' 'with much positive assertion,' as if a legal case were being tried, and the pleader were arguing *at length* against such a view. This seems forced: *multis* would more naturally be 'for many,' i. e. in the judgment of not a few who have examined the point (whether Greek writers like Posidonius, Strabo, or the long array of names mentioned in Seneca's *Natural Questions*, or practical Roman travellers with whom the poet had discussed the question): or he may have written *multus*, as I found in *Rehd.*, a *pervading* black colour, such as Strabo states of the lava-stone.

526 *non odor aut leuitas*. The ὀσμή and κονφόρης of minerals are often mentioned in the *fragm. de lapidibus* ascribed to Theophrastus. Speaking of the friable stones of Binae, he says, 22 ἡ δὲ ὀσμή βαρεία σφόδρα καὶ δυσχερής.

putris magis ille magisque may be parenthetical, and explain *leuitas* (Sudhaus): I have preferred to regard the words as closely connected with *Vna operis facies*. Then (1) *putris magis ille magisque*, *Vna operis facies* are opposed to each other, 'the stone decays more and more, (but) the way it works is one and the same'; or (2) the first *magis* is correlative to the second *magisque*; i. e. *putris magis ille, magisque Vna operis facies* nearly = quo magis putris ille (lapis est), (hoc) magis una operis facies (est).

527 *perque omnia* occurs in the same part of the verse in Manil. i. 213, iv. 160; in both places *-que* is 'and.' Here

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que is trajected from its proper position after *eadem* to the second word.

529 *propria*, a property peculiar to them, distinct from the common nature they share with other stones: so Seneca ad Helv. viii. 2 opposes *natura communis* and *propria uirtus* (our individual virtue). *propala* of *C* and *Rehd.* is defended by Sudh. as = *πρόδηλος*, a quality which is open to the senses, and appeals to our eyes. But the word is not known to occur elsewhere. Possibly PROPRIA became PROPALA from I looking like L: we might compare *delecta* for *deiecta* in 290.

530-534 are thus written in *C*:

Quiinipsis quaedam siculi cognomina saxis
Inposuere fridicas etiam ipso omine significarit
Fusilis esse notas numquam tamen illa liquescunt
Quamuis materies foueat sucosior intus
Nec penitus uenae fuerint commissa molari.

530 *frichas* *Rehd. Arund.* 531 *atque ipso nomine signant* *Rehd.*: *et ipso nomine signant* *Arund.* 532 *Fusilis esse notae* *Maehly* 533 *succentior* *Rehd.* *Perhaps* *succensior*, 'more inflammable' 534 *Ni Le Clerc* *commista* *Le Clerc.*

Here the chief point of doubt is 531. Our two families of MSS., *C* on the one hand, *Rehd.* and the fifteenth century codices on the other, differ signally in their tradition: *C* gives the unmetrical *fridicas etiam ipso omine significarit*; *Rehd.* and *Arund.*, *frichas atque (et Ar.) ipso nomine signant*.

It is not certain that *nomine signant*, which all editors adopt, is right: for *ipso nomine* after *ipsis cognomina saxis* in the preceding verse is tautologous. *C*'s *omine* would have a possible meaning 'presage,' the word, whatever it was, conveying in its sound an *anticipation* of the idea of *fusing*. Again with *ulteriores* before us in 494, we cannot at once pronounce against a pentasyllable like *significarit*, especially with an infin. *esse* following: a construction more properly belonging to *significare* than to *signare*. Georges gives only one example of *signare* followed by acc. and inf. (from Hist. Augusta).

But what shall we make of *fridicas* or *frichas*? Scaliger suggested (1) that it might contain the stem *φρυγ-*: (2) some modification of *χεῖρ*, perhaps *chytas*: (3) of *πεῖρ*, e.g. *rhytas*.

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To us the first impression is a palaeographical one: if we find *fridicas* in *C*, *frichas* in the fifteenth century MSS., we recall other cases where similar expansions have occurred, e.g. *materia* for *maria*, 569; *Fasidicos* for *Phasidos*, Catull. lxiv. 3; perhaps *elocridicos* for *Locridos*, Catull. lxvi. 54.

On this view we should regard *frichas* as the more original, *fridicas* as the later expanded form: and as both persistently retain *f*, the word cannot be a derivative of *χεῖν*. But it might well be *either* of Scaliger's other suggestions. In 1887 I stated my belief that the *f* was a survival of the digamma, *φρυτας* or *φρυδας* (cf. *ρύδαν*, *διαρρύδαν*). Arist. Meteorol. iv. 6. 11 αἱ μύλαι τήκονται ὥστε ρεῖν· τὸ δὲ ρεῖν πηγνύμενον ὅταν ῥυῇ, πάλιν γίγνεται σκληρόν.

Scaliger's other suggestion that the word contains the stem *φρυγ-* has lately been reaffirmed by Birt (*Philologus* for 1898, pp. 637, 638), who contends that the word which in Plin. H. N. xxxiv. 135-137 appears in the accus. as *diphrygem* or *diphryga*, and in the nom. sing. as *diphryges* (*remanet*), meaning 'bis tostum,' twice-smelted, a slag or residuum of which Pliny mentions three kinds, is latent in *fridicas* of *C*. This, he thinks, is an error for *diphrygas* with *et ipso nomine signant*, or perhaps for *diphryx* (with *et iam i. n. signant*). The passage is as follows:—*Fieri enim traditur ex lapide pyrite cremato in caminis donec excoquatur in rubricam. fit et in Cypro ex luto cuiusdam specus arefacto prius, mox paulatim circumdati sarmentis. tertio fit modo in fornacibus aeris faece subsidente. differentia est quod aes ipsum in catinos defluit, scoria extra fornacis, flos supernatat, diphryges remanet. quidam tradunt in fornacibus globos lapidis qui coquatur feruminari, circa hunc aes feruere, ipsum uero non percoqui nisi tralatum in alias fornacis, et esse modum quendam materiae, id quod ex cocto supersit diphryga uocari.*

Dioscorides, v. 119, gives a very similar account: τὸ μὲν μεταλλικόν ἐστι, δὲ δὲ ἐν Κύπρῳ μόνῃ γίνεται. πηλῶδες γὰρ ὂν, ἀναφέρεται ἐκ βυθοῦ τινος τῶν ἐκεῖ τόπων, εἴτα ἀνενεχθὲν ξηραίνεται ἐν ἡλίῳ, καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα φρυγάνοις κύκλῳ περιτεθειμένοις καίεται, ὅθεν καὶ διφρυγὲς ἐκλήθη, διὰ τὸ ὑπὸ ἡλίου καὶ φρυγάνων καίεσθαι καὶ ξηροποιεῖσθαι καὶ οἰοεῖ φρύγεσθαι.

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Against this may be urged :

1. διφρυγῆς suggests, not *melting* or fusing, but *roasting*. The poet says the name intimated *fusibility*, and gives no hint of a *double* action of fire.

2. Neither Pliny nor Dioscorides connect the *diphryges* with Sicily ; both with *Cyprus* : a particular Cyprian clay was first dried in the sun, then burnt in a wood fire, whence the name.

3. The *pyrites*¹, which when burnt in an oven, *donec excoquatur in rubricam*, became one kind of 'twice-baked' (διφρυγῆς), Pliny's first, Dioscorides' third species, does not seem to have been the *molaris* or lava-stone, as Birt supposes, though this was sometimes called *pyrites*. Pliny would have been careful to prevent confusion on this point : and the *black* colour of lava is against it. Nor, indeed, does the poet of *Aetna* say that *lava* had a name in Sicily which implied its fusibility : he says *ipsis saxis*, having just before mentioned that particular kinds of stones had the property of burning, and that these were distinct from the *molaris*.

4. *diphryx*, which Birt infers from *diphryga*, is not known to occur.

Kaibel's *rhyacas* (ρύακας) can hardly be right, as ρύαξ is recurrently the lava-flood, not the name of a stone.

Rejecting *fridicas*, we may perhaps elicit from *frichas*, the shorter and seemingly more original form,

(1) Imposuere *frúdas* et iam *omine* significarunt
or (2) Imposuere *frúdas* et iam *ipso* nomine signant.

(1) is assailable palaeographically, because *significarit* (*C*) looks like a mere miswriting of *significant*, and this might originally have been an explanation of *signant* : again *C* equally with *Rehd.* and *Arund.* has *ipso*, and this part of the tradition, though tautologous, seems reliable ; if it is, *nomine* is almost certainly right, not *omine* : again, as diction, *omine* would be a little unusual. Ovid is specially fond of the combination *signare* (-ri) *nomine* : F. ii. 862 *signatus nomine mensis* ; M. viii.

¹ From Dioscorides v. 142 it might seem that the pyrites of v. 119 (λίθον τὸν λεγόμενον πυρίτην συνθέντες εἰς κάμνον . . . καίουσιν) is the stone there described.

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540 *signataque saxo Nomina complexae, lacrimas in nomina fundunt*; Her. xiii. 66 *Signatum memori pectore nomen habe.*

532 Can *notas* be retained? If I were bent on following the MSS. alone, I should pause before accepting *notae*, 'of fusible character,' for though this is much neater, *notas* is explicable: the Sicilians in the word by which they describe certain actual kinds of stone imply that they have marks of fusibility. *fusilis* would thus be genitive of a neuter *fusile*.

533 *foueat* is not 'cherish the fire,' for no such accus. can be got from the passage. The only possible accus. is the stones themselves (532 *numquam tamen illa (saxa) liquescunt*), which possess a more fluid substance within to *keep them warm* or maintain them in a state capable of being fomented into flame (cf. *fomes*), just as he speaks before of fire glowing in *pingui suco* (395). *Rehd.* however has an interesting v. l. *succentior*; whence I conj. *succensior*, a comparative of the participial adj. *succensus*, like *instructor*, *apertior*, *acceptior*, &c.

534 Sense and logic require the change of *Nec* to *Nei* or *Ni*, 'unless.' Munro alone retains *Nec*, translating, 'Nor will those stones have been properly matched against the structure of the molaris in their inner substance,' which extracts from the words more than they should naturally mean. *Commissa*, Sen. ad Marc. 23 *ignis uiuacior est, qui cum lenta ac difficili materia commissus fumoque demersus ex sordido lucet.*

535-566 Let no one be surprised that the lava-stone is fusible. Heraclitus tells us that fire is the seed of all things, and that everything gives way to fire. We see that it is so in our own experiments with the hardest metals, bronze, lead, iron, gold. True, the lava-stone does not succumb readily, with a small fire, or in open daylight; you must have a close furnace, and a fire of more than average strength; then it will fuse. And where can you find a furnace like Aetna; nurse of secret fire, only comparable with the fires launched by Jupiter; this too seconded by a tense *spirit* which is forced out of the narrow pores of the mountain?

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535-540 Quod siquis lapides miratur fusile robur
 Cogitet obscuri uerissima dicta libelli
 Heraclite tui nihil insuperabile gigni
 Omnia quae rerum natura semina iacta
 Sed nimium hoc mirum densissima corpora saepe
 Et solido uicina tamen conpescimus igni. C.

535 lapidis *is in Sloane 777* 537 Heracliti et ubi *Rehd. Arund.* gigni *all MSS.*: ab igni *Scaliger. D'Orv. x. i. 6. 6* however gives igni as a marginal v.l., and though this variant is there made to refer to the words et ibi (which follow Heracliti in *Pithou's Epigrammata et Poematia Vetera*), it may originally have been a survival of a tradition which made 537 end with igni, not gigni 538 After rerum *Baehrens* added in. *Sudh.* alters quae into que e, retaining gigni in 537 539 *Munro* added a note of interrogation after mirum; and so *Sudh.* *Seminium* the present editor, *Journ. of Philol.* 1887, p. 310.

Immense is the gain here from the Cambridge MS. C. It is not often that a simple word like *tui* assumes so remarkably perverted a form as *et ubi* or *et ibi*; further, *Heraclite* has become *Heracliti* in *Rehd. Arund.* In the rest of the passage C shows nothing materially different from the later MSS.

The words *Sed nimium hoc mirum* are *prima facie* suspect. There is no trace in C of a question: such a question is not in the style of the poem; euphony would require *nimis*, not *nimium*; it is not going very far to trace in *Sed nimium* a depravation of *seminium*. 'This is the marvellous stock of all the seeds of things planted in the realm of nature.' Then *Omnia* is an attraction into the case of *quae* (*Aen. i. 573 Urbem quam statuo uestra est*), and the construction is *Omnia quae in rerum natura semina iacta (sunt), hoc mirum seminium (eis) esse*.

If I am right in this conjecture, fire must have been mentioned before, and *gigni* represents *igni* preceded by a lost *ab*, as *Scaliger* thought¹. Probably the first letter fell out, and

¹ Prof. Bywater points out to me that *Bernays*, who sent him the reference to this passage of *Aetna* as illustrating Heracl. fr. xxvi, assumed *Scaliger's* emendation to be right.

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what remained was corrected into *gigni*. Thus the two statements which appear self-contradictory, (1) that fire can *destroy* everything, (2) that it is the *creator* of everything, are brought into marked antithesis by *nihil, omnia*, each standing at the beginning of its clause. It is more than probable that the Greek dicta referred to began (1) with οὐδέν, (2) with πάντα.

[Sudh. keeps *gigni* with *que e* for *quae* and a question after *mirum*. Nothing born can stand against the eternal law of change, everything that springs from the womb of nature is seed laid for some future existence. But if Heraclitus was well known to represent *fire* as the element underlying all things, if Lucr. goes out of his way expressly to refute him (i. 635 sqq.) *on this very point*, it seems incredible that our poet should introduce a reference to him, when he is arguing about fire, and yet never mention the word at all.]

536 *obscuri*. Lucr. i. 638, 9 *Heraclitus init quorum dux proelia primus, Clarus ob obscuram linguam*. Munro there: 'δ σκοτεινός appears first in the de Mundo 5, p. 396, b. 20 attached to his name; Cic. de Fin. ii. 15 *Heraclitus cognomento qui σκοτεινός perhibetur, quia de natura nimis obscure memoravit*; Sen. Epist. 12. 7 *Heraclitus cui cognomen fecit orationis obscuritas*.' Add Plat. Theaet. 180 of the Heracliteans ὥσπερ ἐκ πατέρας ῥηματίσκια αἰνιγματώδη ἀνασπῶντες ἀποτοξέουσιν, κὰν τοῦτον ζητῆς λόγον λαβεῖν τί εἶρηκεν, ἐτέρῳ πεπλήξει καὶνῶς μετωνομασμένῳ.

537 *nihil insuperabile ab igni*. This might follow from the Heraclitean dictum (fr. lxx Byw.) ξυνὸν ἀρχὴ καὶ πέρας. If fire is the beginning of things, it may also be the end. Again (fr. lxxvii), 'Man is a fire that kindles and is quenched,' in which the same idea may be traced.

538 The language of Lucr. is very illustrative: i. 690 *Dicere porro ignem res omnes esse neque ullam Rem ueram in numero rerum constare nisi ignem*. Heraclitus maintained that fire was everything, and was the one true principle of things. Munro cites his famous dictum πυρὸς ἀνταμείβεται (ἀνταμοιβή τὰ Diels) πάντα καὶ πῦρ πάντων, ὥσπερ (δκωσπερ D.) χρυσοῦ χρήματα καὶ χρημάτων χρυσός (fr. xxii in Bywater's *Heracliti Reliquiae*): so also fr. xx Bywater (ὁ κόσμος ἦν αἰεὶ καὶ ἔστι καὶ ἔσται πῦρ αἰείζων, ἀπτόμενον μέτρα καὶ σβεννύμενον μέτρα: and fr. xxvi Byw. πάντα τὸ

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πῦρ ἐπελθὺν κρινέει (-εἰ Diels) καὶ καταλήψεται, 'will try and condemn.'

539 *Seminium*, 'stock,' a Lucretian word. Munr. on Lucr. iii. 741. Serv. on Geor. i. 86 *Sequitur Heracliti opinionem qui dicit omnia ex igni procreari*.

540 *solido uicina*: nearly solid, next door to solid, as we say. The verse is metrically very effective.

541 *animos*, 'determination,' 'stubbornness': so *patere extorquere animos*, 404.

542 *plumbi* of MSS. is defended by Hildebrandt; the nominative would be *ignis*. So in 404 *exue robur* is said of the person who submits the stone to fire, and so strips it of its substance; and so Aen. viii. 567 *totidem exuit armis*. [Generally however Vergil, our poet's chief model of style, uses *exuere* of the person or thing that doffs or puts off from itself, e.g. *Exuerint* (the trees will put off) *siluestrem animum*, G. ii. 51, and so in seven other passages.]

544 *suspensis*, pendent or high hung, because the smelting-funnel was raised to some height from the floor. The use of *suspensio*, *suspensura*, of the flooring of baths, as being suspended over the flues of a furnace upon low pillars (*pilae*) is very similar, Vitruv. v. 10. 2, Sen. Epist. 90. 25, Rich, *Companion*, p. 634. Ovid calls the fornax *profunda*, M. ii. 229.

545 *Exsudant*, 'sweat out their value,' i. e. discharge under the pressure of a furnace-fire what gives them value. Plin. xxxiii. 60 *altera causa preti maior quod minimum usus deterit*, another reason why gold is so valuable. With *Exsudant* cf. Vitruv. vii. 11. 4 *simul aes et ea harena ab ignis uehementia conferuescendo coaluerint, inter se dando et accipiendo sudores a proprietatibus* (cf. 512) *discedunt*, where *sudores* are the transudations of the two substances (*aes* and *harena*) produced by a furnace-fire.

profundo, as in 257. Gray's *Full many a gem of purest ray serene The dark unfathom'd caves of Ocean bear* looks like an imitation; if so, he must have thought *profundo* referred to the deep sea.

546 *sorte*. The abl. after *obnoxius* is found in the Digest, and the occasional use of the genitive also proves that it was normal.

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547 *te iudice*, if you judge for yourself, pronounce on your own opinion, not taking into consideration what others think.

549 *paruis*, sc. ignibus.

550 *Candenti pressosque* of *C* is possibly right: the construction would be *agedum, candenti fornace pressosque coerce*, 'confine them (sc. *ignes*) in a white-hot kiln, and within close walls,' i. e. *non ad caelum patentes*.

agedum. The use of *agedum* in Prop. i. 1. 19-21 *At uos deductae quibus est fallacia lunae Et labor in magicis sacra piare focis*, *En agedum dominae mentem conuertite nostrae* approximates to this. In both passages the word introduces something harder and requiring an unusual effort.

552 *soluit uires*, has its strength relaxed: see my note on Catull. xvii. 24.

553 sqq. are thus written in *C*:

Quae maiora putas autem tormenta mouere
Posse manu quae tanta putas incendia nostris
Sustentare opibus tantis fornacibus aethna
Vritur ac sacro numquam nec fertilis igni.

553 *aurem Rehd. Ar.*; *perhaps artem moueri Rehd. Ar. Sudh. retains mouere.*

555 *Sustentare Rehd.*: *sustentari ed. Paris. 1507* *tantis Rehd. Ar.*: *quantis Ald. 1517* 556 *ac sacro I suspect is corrupt. Perhaps arcano nec Rehd. Ar.*; *non ed. Paris. 1507.*

We cannot lightly put aside the fact that *C* gives here two active infinitives *mouere, sustentare* for *moueri, sustentare* of *Rehd.*, the less so that *Rehd.* itself has the active form in the second of the two.

The well-known avoidance of elision in long syllables like *-ri* by the post-Vergilian poets strongly supports here the tradition of our best MS.; it might almost be said that *sustentare* should be retained at any cost.

It may, however, be objected that (1) in 293 *mouere* is probably a mistake for *moueri*; (2) the form of the sentence, ending as it does with *manu*=by *artificial* means, cf. *manufactus*, points to the passive, which is indefinite and general, rather than to the active, which introduces a *single* human agent; (3) if both *mouere* and *sustentare* are kept *Quae autem maiora tormenta putas*

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(*te*) *posse mouere manu* ? *Quae incendia tanta putas sustentare* (*te posse*) *nostris opibus* ? the omission of *te* in both clauses, and the supplied *posse* in the second, are both awkward.

These difficulties are considerable enough to suggest a latent error: if anywhere, in *autem*. The position of *autem* in 553 after the third word of the clause is exceptional, for such instances as Hand quotes, Tursellin. i. p. 578, are all drawn from comedy (Plautus and Terence), those cited from Cicero (p. 579) are almost all cases of *autem* after the *second* word. Brut. lxxix. 275 QVA DE RE AGITVR *autem* is an exception which proves the rule. Still, Lucretius has *Et quod inane autemst*, i. 1010; Vergil, Aen. vi. 808 *Quis procul ille autem*, and ii. 101 *Sed quid ego haec autem*, in which last *autem* follows the *fourth* word: enough, it may be said, to lay any scruple on this point at rest.

Since, however, both *Rehd.* and *Arund.* give *aurem* in 553, not *autem*, it is here, I repeat, if anywhere, that we should pause. For the grammatical doubt is *reinforced* by a MS. discrepancy.

If for *autem* of *C.* *aurem* of *Rehd.* *Ar.* we write *artem*, a subject is found for both *mouere* and *sustentare*, which does no violence to either clause: 'what engines, think you, can art bring to bear by human agency more potent, what fires can it sustain by help of man's resources,' to equal the furnaces of Aetna ?

553 *mouere Posse*: the subject (if *autem* is retained) is omitted, as in Vergil's *Aut uidet aut uidisse putat*, vi. 454. Dräger, *Histor. Synt.* ii. p. 414, ed. I, says this omission is more frequent with the 3rd person, less common with 1st and 2nd. He quotes de Orat. i. 22. 101 *Dum mihi liceat negare posse quod non potero et fateri nescire quod nesciam*. Fam. iv. 13. 6 *putabo ad id quod uolumus peruenire posse*. Roby, *Gr.* 1777 cites Cic. Caecil. xii. 38 *Putasne posse facere*, Rosc. Am. xxii. 61 *Aut confitere huc ea spe uenisse*, and three cases of *te* omitted after *scribis*.

555 *quantis* for *tantis* of MSS. I accept from Ald. 1517 with all edd. except Sudhaus. *tanta . . . quantis* = *tanta inc. quantae sunt fornaces quibus Aetna uritur*.

556 *Vritur*, as in Hor. C. i. 4. 8 *dum graues Cyclopum Vulcanus ardens urit officinas*.

COMMENTARY

arcano, 'secret,' 'mysterious,' suits the poet's conception of Aetna, as a centre of marvellous supernatural operations. 'Omnia quae uim sacram et diuinam quamdam habere credebantur, Poetis arcana dici solent.' Burmann. So Val. Fl. iv. 15 *arcano redolentem nectare florem Quem penes alta quies liquidaque potentia somni*. Tac. Ann. ii. 54 *hausta fontis arcani aqua*.

557 *Sed non qui nostro feruet*. Munro shows that this is a recurring form of diction in Seneca. Epist. 64. 1 *Interuenerant quidam amici, propter quos maior fumus fieret, non hic qui erumpere ex lautorum culinis et terrere uigiles solet, sed hic modicus, qui hospites uenisse significet*. Pers. v. 73 *Libertate opus est non hac qua ut quisque Velina Publius emeruit, scabiosa tesserula far Possidet*.

558 *caelo*, compendious for *caeli igni*.

560 *adstrictis faucibus*, literally in Tac. Ann. iv. 70 of a man whose throat is tightened. Here the narrow openings of the mountain are *adstrictae*, 'confined' or 'compressed.'

561 *contendere*, 'to match themselves against,' as in a contest of strength, in which the ore will show a stubborn resistance.

563 *Exanimant*, 'empty the bellows of their air': Forcellini quotes no other instance of this sense.

uentrum of C (= *uentum*) is obviously right against *uentos* of the later MSS., since the wind in the bellows is one and the same, not a number of different winds. *agmine* here of the body of wind formed by the pressure of successive puffs of the bellows. πυκνὸν συστρέμματι might represent *presso agmine*.

564 *forma*, the conjecture of Christian Wolf for *fama* of MSS., must be right: the poet, after his detailed account of the causes of Aetna's eruptions, sums up 'This is the *process* of the work,' not 'this is *what is said*' of it. Velleius ii. 66 has *formam operis*=the design of my history.

sic nobilis uritur Aetna of Rehd. Ar. is here right against the older tradition of C, *ignobilis utitur Aetna*.

565 *foraminibus* shows that the poet is thinking mainly of air, which is once more clearly distinguished from *spiritus*.

565, 566

Terra foraminibus uires trahit arguet (*sic*) in artum
Spiritus incendi uiuit per maxima saxa. C.

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Le Clerc kept this unaltered, thus :

Terra foraminibus uires trahit, urget in artum,

Spiritus incendi uiuit per maxima saxa,

making *Terra* subject to both *trahit, urget*: then *Spiritus incendi* = 'incendium cum flatu coniunctum.' *uiuit*, 'lives,' i. e. shows itself a living force in its effect on the largest rocks.

Sudhaus also joins *Spiritus incendi*, which he makes nomin. to *urget i. a.*; *uiuit per maxima saxa*, sc. *Aetna*, which lives through the mighty rocks that feed its glow.

Of these, I prefer Le Clerc's view, as on the whole less violent: but find it hard to believe either in so harsh an asyndeton as *trahit, urget*, or so unexampled a combination as *spiritus incendi*.

Scaliger thought *uiuit* corrupt and conj. *cui uis*; Munro *uis it*: Baehrens *uia fit*. This seems unobjectionable, and nothing so good has been suggested since.

567 *laudes* is not likely to be an error for *aedes* with *templa* immediately following. It may be explained as '*glories*,' i. e. monuments which have become famous in the world for their magnificence. Verg. G. ii. 174 *res antiquae laudis et artis*.

operosa with *Diuitiis hominum*, 'elaborate with human wealth,' i. e. built with all the lavish resources of wealth. Munro cites Ov. M. xv. 666 *proceres ad templa petiti Conueniunt operosa dei*: and so Ov. Her. iii. 31 *Viginti fuluos operoso ex aere lebetas*. Cf. Tac. Hist. iii. 32 *grauia auro templorum dona*.

568 *arcas* is my conj. for *sacras* of C: coffins e. g. of Osiris or Alexander the Great or Darius (Theophr. de Lapid. i. 6, p. 36, ed. Wimmer): or chests like Cypselus' cedar chest, covered with ivory and gold figures and scenes from mythology (Paus. v. 17 sqq.), which was shown at Olympia; the chest of Adrastus, exhibited at Sicyon, *in qua quid sit ignoratur* Ampel. Lib. Memorialis viii. Buecheler conj. *siquast*, with which *uetustas* (nom. fem.) would agree: *memorare* will then be like *uisere* dependent on *Currimus*. Travellers not only visit and see, but write accounts of the wonders they have seen abroad.

569 *maria* de Rooy convincingly for *materia*: similarly C has *praeceptis* for *praeceps* in 67. *terris* MSS., *terras* de Rooy.

COMMENTARY

Buecheler retains *terris* 'crossing seas and on land.' Possibly it is an error for *taetris* (*fatris*) 'grim forms of death': by drowning, pirates, banditti, wild beasts, and the like. Cic. de Rep. i. 3. 6 *cum ipsi discendi aut uisendi causa maria tramittant*.

570 *Currimus*: on this the infinitives *uisere*, *memorare* depend: 'we rush to see or record.' This infin. of purpose after a verb of motion is most common after *ire*, *currere*, *uenire*, *mittere*. Roby, *Lat. Gram.* § 1362.

572-577

Nunc iuuat Ogygiis circumdata moenia Thebis
Cernere quae fratres ille impiger ille canorus
Condere felicesque alieno intersumus aeuo
Inuitata piis nunc carmine saxa lyraque
Nunc gemina ex uno fumantia saxa uapore
Miramur septemque duces raptumque profundo. C.

572 *For Ogygiis see Schol. Eur. Phoen.* 1113 (*Radtke Hermes* xxxvi. 46) Ὀγύγια προσηγορεύθη (πυλώματα), φησὶν ὁ Ἀριστοδῆμος, διὰ τὸ τοῖς περὶ Ἀμφίονα καὶ Ζῆθον τειχίζοντας Θήβας παρὰ τὸν Ὀγύγου τάφον αὐτὰς (sc. πύλας) τάξαι.

573 quot *the Helmstadt MS.*: que et *Rehd. Arund.* After 573 *Munro* marked a lacuna of one v., which I have conjecturally supplied thus *Condiderant, longo geniti post tempore quimus.*

574 *intersumus is another clear gain from C: Rehd. Arund. have transumere.* 575 *pio Rehd. Arund.*: piei *Munro.*

Perhaps pie. 576 *sacra Scaliger.*

573 *Cernere* must, I think, mean actual eye-sight; travellers rushed over seas to visit Thebes and realize with their own eyes the various legends of the place; the building of its walls by the brothers, Amphion the lyre-player (*canorus*), Zethus the man of action (*impiger*); how the stones came spontaneously for the building, answering with readiness to the summons issued by the pious brethren: again, the legend of the inextinguishable hate of Eteocles and Polynices, attested by the perpetual miracle of the flames parting asunder on their common altar; the seven chiefs; Amphiarus swallowed with his chariot by the Earth opening.

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574 If *cernere* implies an actual visit, it is almost necessary that *condere* should partake of the same meaning; as the traveller views the ground where legend said Amphion and Zethus, after rescuing their mother Antiope (*piis*), had summoned the rocks to build up a new circle of walls, he is represented as realizing the whole scene *on the spot* and recalling after the lapse of centuries every detail. I am here at variance with Buecheler, who writes 'audacter dicuntur qui Thebanas origines canunt *moenia* quae fratres Zethus et Amphion condiderunt *condere*, *felicesque alieno intersumus aeuo*. Superauit iste ea audacia Propertium iv. 1. 57 *moenia* se Romana *disponere* dicentem, at *disponere versu*.'

575 *piis* need not be changed; it is dat. after *inuitata*. The two brothers are called *pious* because the death of Dirce, who had maltreated their mother Antiope, immediately preceded the building of the walls of Thebes, and the stones came spontaneously in recognition of their filial love. Ov. A. A. iii. 323, 324 *Saxa tuo cantu, uindex iustissime matris, Fecerunt muros officiosa nouos*.

576 *saxa* of MSS. might possibly be explained of a stone-altar, the fire kindled on which parted in two, dividing the surface of the one altar into two separate altars; but *ex uno* cannot well be divorced from *uapore*¹, 'at another time we marvel at two altars steaming from one sacrifice,' i. e. the sacrificial flame divided into two parts, each of which marks off for itself one half of the stone on which the sacrifice is made. Luc. i. 551 *Scinditur in partes geminoque cacumine surgit Thebanos imitata rogos (flamma)*. *Saxa* however can hardly be right with *saxa* preceding in 575, and Scaliger's *sacra* is the required word, as Ovid shows in the *locus classicus* on this legend. Trist. v. 5. 33 *Consilio commune sacrum cum fiat in ara Fratribus, alterna qui periere manu, Ipsa sibi discors, tamquam mandetur ab illis, Scinditur in partes atra fauilla duas*. This legend seems to have formed part of Callimachus' *Aitia*, and Ovid goes on to declare that he had found

¹ As Munro suggested, reading however *sacra*. 'The construction must be "gemina ex uno sacra, fumantia uapore."'

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it impossible to believe his statement. Ibis 35, 36 *Et noua fraterno ueniet concordia fumo, Quam uetus accensa separat ira pyra*. Much later Pausanias (ix. 18. 3) says he believed this miracle, though he had never witnessed it himself: it was as famous in antiquity as the yearly liquefaction of S. Januarius' blood at Naples in modern times¹.

577 *profundo*, a chasm opening in the ground. Ov. Pont. iii. 1. 52 *Notus humo mersis Amphiarus equis*.

578 *Detinet*, 'arrests.' Cic. Parad. v. 37 *Aetionis* (painted under Alexander the Great) *fabula stupidum te detinet aut signum aliquod Polycliti*, where see Max Schneider, Leipzig 1891.

579 *sua turba recenti* of *C* was corrected by Scaliger to *sua turba regenti*, and explained by Le Clerc of the Spartan *ἐνωμοτία*, which Hesych. describes as *τάξις τις διὰ σφαιρίων ἐνώμοτος*. Grote, *Hist. Greece*, ii. p. 615: 'It was a small company of men, the number of whom was variable, being given differently at twenty-five, thirty-two, or thirty-six men—drilled and practised together in military evolutions, and bound to each other by a common oath. Each Enōmoty had a separate captain or enomotarch, the strongest and ablest soldier of the company, who always occupied the front rank, and led the Enōmoty when it marched in single file, giving the order of march, as well as setting the example. If the Enōmoty was drawn up in three, or four, or six files, the enomotarch usually occupied the front post on the left, and care was taken that both the front rank men and the rear rank men, of each file, should be soldiers of particular

¹ ['(The text) represents what ordinary Latin would give as *sacra geminum fumum edentia ex uno uapore* (i.e. *ardore*, a far from uncommon use of the word). *Gemina fumantia* is in fact a perfectly legitimate expression for what is "divided in smoking" or "when it comes to smoke." The writer intended to say there were two *sacrifices* although there was only one *fire*, and in *uapore* he chooses the best word to give this because it carries no idea of flame. For beyond doubt the legend represented the flame as well as the smoke as being divided. Pausanias says in his wooden way *τούτοις δὲ ἐναγίζόντων τὴν φλόγα ὡσαύτως δὲ καὶ τὸν ἀπ' αὐτῆς καπνὸν διχῇ διίστασθαι*.' Postgate, *Cl. Rev.* xiv. 421.]

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merit.' Xenophon de rep. Laced. xi. 6, says of this: οὗτω δὲ ῥᾷδιον ταύτην τὴν τάξιν μαθεῖν, ὥς ὅστις τοὺς ἀνθρώπους δύναται γινώσκειν, οὐδεὶς ἂν ἀμάρτοι· τοῖς μὲν γὰρ ἡγεῖσθαι δέδοται, τοῖς δὲ ἑπείσθαι τέτακται. The Enomoty would thus be strictly *sua turba regenti*, a band their captain swayed at will. It would be *sacer numerus* as a troop bound by religious rites. Alzinger shows that *numerus* is so used even by Sallust (Cat. 33. 1), and Munro affirms it of the silver age and Tacitus.

Sudhaus and Buecheler, however, suggest *trecenti* for *recenti*, and explain of the 300 Spartans who fell at Thermopylae 'the number hallowed for war, their own all-sufficient host, the Three Hundred.' Buecheler cites one of the Suasoriae of the elder Seneca (II) which is occupied with this subject. The word *trecenti* occurs eleven times in this piece, and is in antithesis to *trecenti*, the 300 sent severally by the other states of Greece. The whole Suasoria is a commentary on the verse. § 5 (ed. Bursian) *Ideo hanc Eurotas amnis circumfluit qui pueritiam indurat ad futurae militiae patientiam. . . . Lacones se numerant, non aestimant. uideamus quanta turba sit, ut habeat certe Sparta, etiamsi non fortes milites, ad (at) nuntios ueros.* § 8 *Videat trecentos Xerxes et sciat quanti bellum aestimatum sit, quanto aptus numero locus.* § 14 *Ut reuertar ad Leonidam et trecentos. . . . De positione loci eleganter dixit Haterius, cum angustias loci facundissime descripsisset: natus trecentis locus.* And particularly § 18 *Ad, inquit, trecenti sumus; et ita respondit: trecenti, sed uiri, sed armati, sed Lacones, sed ad Thermopylas; numquam uidi plures trecentos.* These four words may help us to understand *sua turba*. We may imagine the 300 Spartans saying to each other: 'We may be only 300; but it would be hard to find a 300 as numerous.' *sua turba* is of course in reference to *trecenti*, like *pars sua* to *parentem* in Manil. iv. 884, 885 *nostrumque parentem Pars sua perspicimus*. It cannot mean, as we might be tempted to believe, 'a host in themselves': *suus* is in reference to the idea *se numerandi*, counting their number, and then estimating its worth not by the total which numerically they reach, but by the training, endurance, resolution, &c. which make up a Spartan soldier. The 300 at Thermopylae were proverbial, e.g. Ampelius

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xx, ut plane trecentorum Lacedaemoniorum apud Thermopylas gloriam adaequarent.

The chief objection to this otherwise convincing interpretation is that the verse more naturally suggests the *τρεῖς λόχοι* of Thebes, which was also three hundred in number. See Plutarch, Pelopidas xviii; Grote, *Hist. Greece*, vi. 531. But the Theban sights and legends are brought to an end with 577; nor is any transposition¹ of the verse in question (579) at all likely.

It might also be urged that the introduction of a historical fact like the Three Hundred at Thermopylae is the *only* exception to the *mythological* character of all the other legends mentioned by the poet.

580 *spectantur* recalls such uses as *Micon athleticis spectatur* (Plin. xxxiv. 88), almost = is appraised by his Athletes, xxxv. 20 *non est spectata* (the art of painting) *honestis manibus*: cf. Hildebrandt, *Beiträge*, p. 8.

581 *solī uictrīce Minervae*. In the contest between Athena and Poseidon, Athena's olive conquered Poseidon's salt-water pool, and gave her possession of the Attic territory. Herod. viii. 55 *ἔστι ἐν τῇ ἀκροπόλει ταύτῃ Ἑρεχθεὺς τοῦ γηγενέος λεγομένου εἶναι νηὸς, ἐν τῇ ἐλαίῃ τε καὶ θάλασσᾳ ξυνοῦν τὰ λόγους παρὰ Ἀθηναίων Ποσειδewνά τε καὶ Ἀθηναίην, ἐρίσαντας περὶ τῆς χώρας, μαρτύρια θέσθαι*. See Grote, *Hist. of Greece*, i. p. 266.

solī of *C* seems right against *sua* of the later MSS.; *sua* would refer to Athena, whom Athens might in a special sense claim as her own.

582, 583 the legend of Theseus and Ariadne: see my *Introd.* to Catull. lxiv.

584-587 are thus written in *C*:

Tu quoque Athenarum carmen tam nobile sidus
Erigone sedes uestra est phylomella canoris
Euocat insiluis ettú soror hospita tectis
Acciperis solis tereus ferus exulat agris.

585 *emphiloma Rehd.*

¹ e.g. to suppose after *raptumque profundo* a loss of one or more verses, after which followed *Et sacer in bellum numerus, sua turba, trecenti*: then *Detinet Eurotas illic et Sparta Lycurgi*: thus transposing 578, 579.

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The difficulty of this passage is best estimated by examining the interpretations of Munro and Sudhaus, both of whom keep 584, 585 as in C.

Munro paraphrases: 'You too, Erigone, are one of the *uaria carmina* for which Athens is famous: so renowned a constellation is now the abode of you, and yours (*uestra*), your father Icarus or Icarius, and the faithful dog which became Sirius: cp. Tib. iv. 1. 9 *cunctis Baccho iucundior hospes Icarus, ut puro testantur sidera caelo, Erigoneque canisque*.'

The weak point in this is that *sedes*, which as it stands in its context suggests Athens, the home of Erigone¹ as a mortal maiden, is here applied to the *constellation* in which, with her father Icarius and the hound Maera, she is supposed to be located after her death and deification. Again, *sidus* would be rightly applied to Erigone as a *single* star, but not to a non-existent constellation in which Icarius and Maera are grouped with her. Lastly, the inclusion of Icarius and Maera, if thought necessary by the poet, would surely have been done more openly than by a side *allusion* like *uestra*.

Sudhaus tr., 'Thou also art become an Athenian song, Erigone, from henceforth a far-famed star: ye also have there your home': *uestra* grouping together Erigone and the Philomela-Procne legend, as in Apollodorus iii. 14. This view, as Latin, I consider impossible.

Peerlkamp thought *sedes* was a corruption of *caedes*; if it is so, the murder of Icarius must be included (*uestra*), as Erigone died by *hanging herself* for grief at her father's loss.

Perhaps the best solution may be found in D'Orv. x. 1. 6. 6 where *uestras* is given as a marginal v.l. for *uestra en* of Pithou's text. Suppose the original corruption of the verse to have been

Erigone sedes uestras en philomela canoris
we may reconstitute it thus:

Erigone's (or Erigonae's) dequesta sen[em]²; philomela c.

¹ Ampelius Lib. Memor. ii says, *Sunt qui Erigonam Icarum filiam Atheniensem dicunt*, which illustrates our poet's *Athenarum carmen*.

² Icarius is repeatedly called γέρον by Nonnus (Dionys. xlvii. 37, 45, 52, 58, 66, 70, 78).

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It would then come under the category of verses which having first been obscured by some letters becoming illegible, were afterwards restored to a false appearance of soundness by other letters filled in conjecturally. This is more intelligible from the rareness of *dequesta*, a word which occurs once in Val. Flaccus v. 448 *secum dequesta labores*; twice in Stat. T. i. 404 *notos dequestus*, xi. 627 *Talia dequestus*. Hyginus, P. A. ii. 4; says Erigone *multis miserata lacrimis* her father.

[Of other views I signalize Haupt's *edens questum*, Maass' *edens questus*, both constructed with *Philomela*. This would necessitate *Erigones* (genitive). The conjecture is hardly probable: it is undeniably prosaic, and does not explain *Euocat*.]

If Eratosthenes' famous poem *Erigone*¹ had survived entire, we might hope to clear up much in the above vv. which is, and must remain, doubtful.

585-587

phylomella canoris

Euocat insiluis ettú soror hospita tectis

Acciperis solis tereus ferus exulat agris.

The difficulty here centres in *Euocat*. Philomela in the resounding forests *issues her summons*. To whom? If we follow Ovid, M. vi. 576 sqq., to Procne, wife of Philomela's ravisher, Tereus. Philomela, ravished and with her tongue cut out (556 sqq.), weaves her tragic fate into a piece of needlework and sends it from her forest prison to her sister Procne. Such a missive might be called a summons, and there is less harshness in the absence of a direct accusative to *Euocat*, because the person summoned is immediately addressed in the vocative, *et tu soror hospita tectis Acciperis*, in which the allusion is to Procne, metamorphosed into a swallow, and making her home in cities or the houses of men.

Sudhaus supplies *Ityn* to *Euocat*. Itys is summoned or enticed², with the object of murdering him, in revenge for Tereus' barbarous outrage.

¹ Longinus, de Subl. 33, calls it a faultless little poem (ἀμώμητον ποιήματιον).

² Sudhaus wavers greatly in interpreting *Euocat*: he seems to think it may be (1) summons, (2) calls by name, (3) entices.

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To either view there are strong objections. The word *Euocat* would hardly be combined with the ablative *canoris in siluis*; an accus. would be expected, as Haupt emended, *canoras in siluas*, which however has no support from MSS. and is arbitrary. Moreover to supply *sororem* to *Euocat* from the following words is a mere makeshift; to supply *Ityn* is so far from easy or natural, that I have nowhere found anything to support it in the various records of the legend.

In 1887 (*Journ. of Philology*, p. 311) I wrote: 'For *Euocat* in I would write *Plorat (Ityn)*. A similar depravation attaches to this unfortunate name in Cul. 252 *Quarum uox Ityn edit Ityn*, which the oldest MS. (Bembo's) presents in this strange shape, *Quarum uox it in edytyn*.'

But how, it will be asked, could Philomela, when she had lost her tongue, bewail Itys in the woods or take her part in the songs of the birds that sing there¹? The answer to this is very simple. The nightingale is thought of apart from the details of the tragic story which preceded. Catull. lxx. 13, 14 *Qualia sub densis ramorum concinit umbris Daulias absumpti fata canens Itylei*².

My suggestion has the merit (1) of harmonizing with *canoris*. The nightingale bears her part in the general song of the woods. (2) It is a well-known fact of palaeography that the first and last words of a line are specially liable to corruption, hence *Euocat* for *Plorat* has nothing to surprise. (3) *Ityn* has occasioned a similar confusion elsewhere. (4) The introduction of the name adds to the poetic completeness of the passage: we thus have three of the actors in the tragedy, Philomela, Itys, Tereus. (5) *Plorat* is the right word for a woman's lamentation over a lost kinsman or lover. Reyfferscheid Sueton. p. 252 *mulieres orbae plorant*: and so Tib. ii. 6. 42; Prop. iii. 12. 1.

587 *Tereus ferus*: Ov. M. vi. 549 *feri tyranni*; 581 *saeui matrona tyranni*.

589 This verse seems to be partially imitated by Maxim. v.

¹ Hildebrandt, *Beiträge*, p. 4 quotes Lucr. i. 256 *Frondisferasque nouis auibus canere undique siluas*. Verg. G. ii. 328 *resonant auibus uirgulla canoris*. Plin. iv. 31 *Penius . . . canorus auium concentu*.

² Here too the name *Itylei* is disguised in many MSS. as *Prothei*.

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41, 42 (ed. Petschenig¹) *Qua defensa suo superata est Hectore Troia, Vnum non poterat fraus superare senem?* in which *defensa suo Hectore Troia* corresponds to our poet's *extinctos suo Phrygas Hectore*, 'the Phrygians quenched by their own Hector,' sc. by his extinction². The harshness of the abl. is diminished by its resemblance to constructions like *iacent suis testibus*, Mil. xviii. 47; *geminus iacet hoste superbo Scipio*, Sil. xv. 3.

[This is the prevailing interpretation, and so Munro. The abl. however might also be explained, not as instrumental, but as abl. of respect; 'the Trojans quenched in respect of their champion Hector' = 'with their champion Hector quenched in death.']

590. *ducis*. Hector, the burning of whose body, placing his bones wrapt in purple robes in a golden chest, laying this in a trench and strewing large stones over it, form the last scene of the Iliad, xxiv. 788-804. Aen. v. 371 *ad tumulum quo maximus occubat Hector*. Strabo 595 mentions an ἄλσος Ἑκτορος near Rhoeteum, but says nothing of any tomb. On another account, Hector's bones were buried at Ophryinion in the Troad (Peplos 59, see Radtke in *Hermes* xxxvi. 40).

Achilles' tomb and temple were shown at Sigeum, Strab. 596, as well as the tombs of Patroclus and Antilochus.

591 *ultor*. Paris, who in accordance with Hector's dying prophecy, Il. xxii. 359, killed Achilles, the slayer of his brother, ἐνὶ Σκαίῃσι πύλῃσι: Servius on Aen. iii. 85, 321 says Paris con-

¹ See now the new edition of Maximianus' *Elegies* by Richard Webster, Princeton, U. S., 1900: one of the most interesting contributions in our language to the study of the Latin poetry of the decline.

² Il. xxiv. 728 Andromache, lamenting over the body of Hector, says πρὶν γὰρ πόλις ἦδε κατ' ἄκρης Πέρσεται· ἡ γὰρ ὕδαλας ἐπίσκοπος, ὅτε μιν αὐτὴν ῥύσκειν, ἔχει δ' ἀλόχους κενῶς καὶ νήπια τέκνα. Eur. Hec. 21 ἐπεὶ δὲ Τροία θ' Ἑκτορός τ' ἀπόλλυται Ψυχῇ. Sen. Troad. 128, 9 *Tecum cecidit, summusque dies Hectoris idem patriaeque fuit*. Manil. i. 766 *uictamque sub Hectore Troiam*. The idea is defined by Seneca de Const. Sapientis ii. 3 speaking of Cato, *abstractus comitem se diu sustentatae ruinae dedit, simulque extincta sunt, quae nefas erat diuidi: neque enim Cato post libertatem uixit nec libertas post Catonem*.

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cealed himself behind the statue of the Thymbraean Apollo and from thence wounded Achilles with an arrow. Strabo 596, on the authority of Demetrius of Scepsis, asserts that the tomb of Paris and Oenone was shown in the Cebrenian territory not far from Troy. Paris was himself killed by Philoctetes with the bow of Hercules (Philoct. 1426); an episode which 'was told by Lesches in the *Little Iliad*, and must have come into the *Φιλοκρήτης ἐν Τροίᾳ* of Sophocles.' Jebb on Phil. 1426.

593 *rorantia parte camilli* of *C* seems to be a corruption of *rorantis matre capilli*, the letters *m* and *p* having by some curious accident exchanged places. *matre* is of course the mother of Venus, the sea-foam. The picture alluded to is Apelles' Venus Anadyomene, Plin. xxxv. 79, 87, and 91 *Venerem exeuntem e mari diuus Augustus dicauit in delubro patris Caesaris, quae Anadyomene uocatur, uersibus Graecis tali opere, dum laudatur, uicto sed inlustrato, cuius inferiorem partem corruptam qui reficeret non potuit reperiri, uerum ipsa iniuria cessit in gloriam artificis. Consenuit haec tabula carie, aliamque pro ea substituit Nero principatu suo Dorothei manu:* where see Miss Sellers' notes.

594 The Medea of Timomachus, Plin. xxxv. 136 *Timomachus Byzantius Caesaris dictatoris aetate Aiaceam et Medeam pinxit, ab eo in Veneris Genetricis aede positas, LXXX talentis uenundatas.* Miss Sellers considers Pliny to have here made a mistake as to Timomachus' date, and shows reasons for assigning the picture to the fourth century B.C.

595 The Iphigenia of Timanthes, Plin. xxxv. 73 *Timanthi uel plurimum adfuit ingenii. eius enim est Iphigenia oratorum laudibus celebrata, qua stante ad aras peritura cum maestos pinxisset omnes praecipueque patrum, et tristitiae omnem imaginem consumpsisset, patris ipsius uultum uelauit quem digne non poterat ostendere.* Cic. Orat. xxii. 74.

tristes, a sorrowful group. *subiecta* of *C* and the other MSS. may be explained either as 'substituted,' i.e. of substituted sacrifice, or falsified, counterfeit, i.e. used for a sham or counterfeit offering, namely the hind which was sacrificed in place of Iphigenia. In either case *ceruae* is genitive. It cannot be 'the altar set beneath the hind,' i.e. to burn it; it is clear

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from the corresponding use of *subdita cernua* by Propertius (iii. 22. 34), *supposita* by Ovid (M. xii. 34), that *subiecta* is meant to convey the same idea of a substituted or sham sacrifice.

[Haupt and Munro prefer *subiectae*, which is in Ald. 1517.]

596 *pater*, Agamemnon.

nunc gloria uiua Myronis, the famous bronze cow of Myron. Pliny, xxxiv. 49, assigns Myron to the 90th Olympiad (420–417 B.C.). ib. 57 *Myronem Eleutheris natum Hageladae et ipsum discipulum bucula maxime nobilitauit; celebratis uersibus laudata*. Cicero, Verr. iv. 70. 135, mentions this cow among the most admired works of art in the world. See Stuart Jones, *Greek Sculpture*, p. 64.

uiua: life-like as in Vergil's *uiuos ducent de marmore uultus*, Aen. vi. 848; Propertius' *uiuida signa, boues*, ii. 31. 8.

597 *manus operum*, specimens of handicraft in works of art. Prop. iii. 21. 29, 30 *Aut certe tabulae capient mea lumina pictae, Siue ebore exactae seu magis aere manus*.

tabulae (see the passage of Propertius just quoted) is my correction of *turbeque* of C, *tubeque* of Rehd. I doubt whether *turbaeque* plural would be possible = crowds of art-objects: certainly the parallels cited from Haupt by Munro are not enough to prove it. Bücheler, however, explains *turbaeque* of the crowds that press to see a work of art, ὄχλοι καὶ παραχαί.

598 *terra dubiusque marique*. The *que* is trajected from its proper position after *terra* as in Ov. Her. xv. 145 *Sed non inuenio siluae dominumque meumque*, for such is the reading of nearly all MSS., not *dominum siluaeque meumque*: see Sedlmayer's ed. 1886.

599 *Artificis* contrasts *nature* as an artist with *man* (Wernsdorf). Sudhaus cites Cic. de N. D. ii. 22. 58 *natura non artificiosa solum sed plane artifex ab eodem Zenone dicitur*.

599–601 are thus written in C:

Artificis natura ingens opus aspice nulla

Cum tanta humanis phoebus spectacula cernes

Praecipueque uigil feruens ubi Syrius ardet.

599 naturae Rehd. 600 Cum Rehd. Ar.: Tu Le Clere:

Nam Munro rebus Ald. 1534: humanae plebis the present

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editor from plebeis of MS. Rehd. 60, phebis of ed. 1475; cf. Stat. S. i. 4. 66 where plebeiam is written phebeiam in the Matritensis. 601 ardens Rehd.: rupes ubi Trinacris ardet Baehrens: iugis feruens ubi Sicanis arx est the present editor in Journ. of Philol. 1892, p. 235.

It is difficult to believe that *phoebus* or *phebis* is a corruption of *rebus*: not merely because, palaeographically, *ph* and *r* are rarely interchanged, but from the uncertain construction of *rebus*, which as abl. would require *in*, as dative would be an exaggerated instance of the type *caducis saxis* 478, *ruinis impetus* 347, *finitimis conuertit gentibus ora*, Lucr. vi. 643. When collating the Rehdiger MSS. in 1892, I found that Rehd. 60 gave *plebeis*, and this suggested a new emendation, *plebis*. This would involve *human(a)e* for *humanis*, a frequent confusion in the Middle Age. The meaning would then be 'You shall not see any sight so marvellous done by the throng of men,' with perhaps some idea of contempt for mankind and their works as insignificant. Cf. Stat. S. ii. 1. 212 *Nam populos mortale genus, plebisque caducae Quis fleat interitus?* 223 *nos anxia plebes, Nos miseri, quibus unde dies suprema, quis aevi Exitus incertum*, where the same idea of insignificance or weakness is implied.

The form of the sentence *aspice — cernes* makes *Cum* of MSS. in 600 impossible. Le Clerc's *Tu* is the best emendation proposed, and might easily pass into *Tum* or *Cum*. The pronoun has its force: 'you may be sure you will not see.' Cf. Seneca's *Quid? tu putas*, 'do you really think?' de Const. Sap. iv. 2.

Whether 601 is rightly transmitted is doubtful. That eruptions of Aetna are to be expected in the season which follows the rise of the Dog-star is not, so far as I know, stated by any writer of antiquity. Sudhaus thinks it was a post-Aristotelian observation (pp. 61 and 212). Pliny's remark (xviii. 270) *Sentiunt id* (sc. *canis ortum*) *maria et tekrae*, combined with Lucretius' (vi. 694) assertion that the eruptions of Aetna are affected by the sea which reaches it by subterranean channels, is not inconsistent with such a statement, but in no way proves it. More to the point, perhaps, is the fact recorded

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by Livy xl. 22, that the excessive heat of the day is equalled by the intense cold of the night, *caniculae ortu*; such a violent contrast of heat and cold might form a suitable condition of eruptions. In our own time a violent outbreak of Etna took place at this very time, July and August, 1892. I quote from the *Times* of August 17: 'The whole district was convulsed with spasmodic throbs and the atmosphere was filled for miles around with a hot maddening dust that continued to fall for several hours and wrought great damage among the vines and other produce. Masses of incandescent rock of considerable size were ejected to a height of half a mile, and were accompanied by deafening rumblings and by showers of volcanic bombs.' But the most terrific outbreak in modern times, that of 1669, was in March (Borelli, *Historia et Meteorologia Incendii Aetnaei*, 1670, p. 16); and the table given by Daubeney, p. 290, does not point specially to the Dog-days.

Scaliger suspected a corruption in 601, mainly on account of *ardens*, which *Rehd. Arund.* and other fifteenth-century MSS. give. *C*, indeed, has *ardet*. In spite of this, I agree with Baehrens in suspecting the accuracy of the manuscript tradition, whether in *C*, or *Rehd.* and *Arund.*

What is *uigil*? It must be connected with *cernes*, 'and most of all by wakeful observation (i. e. at night) when the Dog-star is at the height of his glow.' This, it may be said, is right, because according to Pliny ii. 236 *ardet Aetna noctibus semper*, iii. 88 *mons Aetna nocturnis miris incendiis*, the flames of Aetna were always to be seen at night, and this would be the time for keeping a close look-out. *uigil* would thus be = *si uigil fueris*, or *si uigilaueris*¹.

This may serve as an explanation, but does not remove a certain awkwardness in the construction, and in the juxtaposition of the two adjectives, *uigil, feruens*.

¹ Pliny's use of *uigil*, in his description of the watch kept about gold mines to anticipate the collapse of the earth, xxxiii. 72 *dat signum ruina, eamque solus intellegit in cacumine eius montis uigil*, suggests another possibility. Watchmen might be stationed at different points of Aetna during the dog-days to detect the first signs of a coming outbreak. *uigil* would thus mean 'if you act as a watchman.'

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uigil is perhaps an early misreading of *ingis*, and *Syrius ardet* (*ardens*) of *Sicanis arx est*, 'and most of all (shall you see an unequalled marvel) on the ridges where the Sicilian watch-tower glows.'

For I agree with Baehrens in thinking that after the long digression on Greek curiosities in 567-597, in the course of which the volcano is left out of sight completely, the verses in which it is again introduced, and its operations contrasted with the pigmy works of man, should contain the *name* of the mountain, and preferably, with an indication of *its being in Italy or Sicily*, not Greece or Asia.

Aetna is called *Sicanis* in a passage of the Ovidian *Ibis*, 597, 598 *Aut ut Trinacrius salias super ora Gigantis, Plurima qua flammis Sicanis Aetna uomit*. In the Linz MS. of the *Ibis* the adj. is written *lictanis*, a proof that the word might be much perverted from its proper form.

602, 603 are thus written in *C Rehd. Ar.* :

Insequitur miranda tamen sua fabula montem

Nec minus ille pio quamquam sors nobilis ignis.

603 sons for sors *Barth. Aduers.* xxxii. 16 ignist *Munro* :
quam sonti *Maehly* : quam qui sons *Sauppe* : quam quo sons
Baehrens.

In this distich *sons* seems certain, *ignist* very probable. But *quamquam* is doubtful. Munro retained it, 'though its acts are generally destructive.' This is awkward, especially in the ordering of the words; *Maehly*, Haupt, *Sauppe*, *Baehrens*, *Sudhaus* all reject it. *Sauppe's* *quam qui*, i.e. nec minus ille (mons) nobilis pio igni, quam qui (ignis) sons est, *Baehrens'* *quam quo*, sc. igni sons est mons, are neither of them convincing. On palaeographical grounds it seems more likely that *quamquam* represents *quam—tam*, and that the poet availed himself of a partially archaic formula like *Tam magis—Quam magis* (*Aen.* vii. 787) which *Quintilian*, ix. 3. 15, compares with *Catullus' dum—dum* = quoad—usque eo (*lxii.* 45), to give the effect of contrast to the pious fame which Aetna on this single occasion won and its ordinary ill-fame as a destroyer. This contrast of *Quam—Tam*, or *Tam—Quam* is found in *Vergil*, *Aen.* iv. 188 *Tam ficti prauique tenax quam*

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nuntia ueri, viii. 723 *Quam uariae linguis, habitu tam uesti. et armis*; and Ovid M. xv. 110 *Sed quam danda neci, tam non epulanda fuerunt*. Gertz, *Stud. Crit. in Sen.* p. 62, shows that it is very frequent in Seneca¹. I therefore emend

Nec minus ille pio quam sons tam nobilis ignist.

nec minus repeats the idea of *tamen*, 'none the less (for its usual destructiveness) is it, if guilty (in the harm it did), yet famous for a fire that respected religion.'

sons and *nobilis* both refer to the same *particular* eruption, which was, like others, dangerous to life, but differed from others in the religious care it showed in sparing the Pious Brethren. This seems required by the position of *tam sons quam nobilis* between *pio* and *ignist*.

604 Aelian fr. 2 Hercher dates this eruption as occurring in Ol. 81 = B.C. 456-453. 'But I suspect there is a mistake in the number.' Bentley, *Phalaris*, p. 222, Wagner.

606 *lapidis C rapidis Rehd.* Either word would be in place here: I simply follow *C* as the most trustworthy guide.

608 The nom. to *torquet* is *aether*, not *Iuppiter*. Postgate conj. *telum* for *caelum*, explaining *torquet* of Jupiter brandishing his thunderbolt. But why should not *torquet* = whirls on, as in Aen. iv. 482 *Axem umero torquet stellis ardentibus aptum*, 'expressing the diurnal motion of the heaven,' Conington.

609 It is hard to decide between Scaliger's *mollia* and Heinsius' *mitia*. The former gives a better picture, suggesting the soft wavy look of cornfields, cf. Vergil's *Molli paulatim flauescet campus arista*, Ecl. iv. 28; the latter in combination with *cultu* occurs in Val. Fl. ii. 647, 648 *mitia cultu His etiam mihi corda locis*, a heart civilized by culture even in savage regions. The same idea would well suit our passage; farm-lands brought under by tillage, i.e. reclaimed from their originally wild state as part of the mountain and submitted to cultivation. MSS. have *millia* or *milia*.

¹ A parallel instance to this *quamquam* = *quam*—*tam* occurs in Stat. S. iii. 5. 49 *Et quamquam saevi fecerunt Maenada plancus*, where *quamquam* is probably an error for *quam tam*, as Emeric de la Croix (Cruceus) edited: but here *quam* is accus. singular fem. of *qui*.

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610 *rubebant* Munro excellently for *urebant* of *C.* Lucan v. 214 *rubor igneus*.

611 *Vixdum . . . putant, tremebant*. After *uix* in the protasis, the copula is commonly omitted in the apodotic clause. Aen. ii. 172 *Vix positum castris simulacrum: arsere coruscae Luminibus flammae*; iii. 90 *Vix ea fatus eram: tremere omnia uisa repente*. In Ovid *uix bene* follows this rule almost regularly: Her. vi. 24, 25 *tactum uix bene limen erat, Aesonides, dixi, quid agit meus?* F. v. 278 *Vix bene desieram, rettulit illa mihi*, vi. 513 *Vix bene desierat, complent ululatibus auras*; M. ii. 47 *Vix bene desierat, currus rogat ille paternos*, xiv. 753. Hence there is no reason to suspect *tremebant*. The rhyme, *rubebant, tremebant* may be intentional, to mark the simultaneity of their fears with the actual approach of the flames.

612 *finitimae urbis*: Catina on the skirts of Aetna¹. *euaserat*, had cleared, i.e. had got beyond the gates, and was inside the city. Ov. M. iii. 19 *Jam uada Cephisi Panopesque euaserat arua*.

613 sqq. These vv. have a close parallel in Petronius' poem on the Civil War, 225, where he describes the flight from Rome of the citizens at the outbreak of the war.

Ille manu pauida natos tenet, ille penates
Occultat gremio deploratumque relinquit
Limen et absentem uotis interficit hostem.
Sunt qui coniugibus maerentia pectora iungant
Grandaeuosque patres, onerisque ignara iuuentus
Id pro quo metuit tantum trahit. omnia secum
Hic uehit inprudens praedamque in proelia ducit.

613 *rapinae*, here not in its common sense of plundering, but simply of snatching up effects and carrying them off, like soldiers intent on rapine.

614 *sub auro*: Conon, *Narr.* 43, in his account of the story

¹ Bentley however (*Phalaris*, p. 221, ed. Wagner) shows that *Eusebon Chora* was another name of *Taurominium* (Vib. Sequester de *Fluminibus Taurominius inter Syracusas et Messanam, a quo oppidum Taurominium quod oppidum aliter Euseboneora (Eusebon chora Bentley) dicitur*): and Solinus says the *Syracusans* disputed with the *Catinaeans* the names of the youths, and therefore perhaps the *site* of their enterprise.

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says, καὶ ταύτης φεύγοντες ὥς εἶχον τάχους, οἱ μὲν χρυσόν, οἱ δὲ ἄργυρον ἔφερον, οἱ δὲ ὅ,τι ἂν τις βούλοιτο ἐπικούρημα τῆς φυγῆς.

615 *stulta*, because arms could be of no avail against fire. *reponit* places them again upon his neck, as if to encounter a new enemy.

616 *carmina*, not 'charms' (Munro) which no one would think of repeating in such an emergency, but poems, which the vanity of an author would naturally wish to save from the flames, and which would be light to carry.

617 *minimo* Heinsius (Aduers. p. 342), and Dorat for *nimio* of MSS. It is difficult to see how a man not over wealthy could either have a *vast load of baggage* (*nimio sub pondere*), or move nimbly under it. If he were poor (*pauper*), he would be unimpeded, *aptis sarcinulis et expeditis*, as Catullus says, xxviii. 2¹. *nimum*, *minimum* are alternative readings in Luc. v. 576, ix. 504.

618 Petron. 231 *Id pro quo metuit tantum trahit.*

cari, Caes. B. G. v. 33, of a rapid flight, *quae quisque eorum carissima haberet ab impedimentis petere atque arripere properaret.*

620-623 are thus written in *C*:

Cunctantis uorat ignis et undique torret auaros

Consequiturque fugisse ratis et præmia captis

Concrepat ac nulli sparsura incendia pascunt

Vel solis sparsura dees.

621 Consequitur (*om. -que*) *Rehd. Ar.* fugisse ratis *Rehd. Ar.*: ratis fugisse *Buecheler*: fugasse ratis *the present editor.*

622 Concrepat et *Rehd. Ar.*: Concremat *Dorat* haec *Le Clerc and de Serionne* nullis parsura *ed. Paris.* 1507 623 dees *om. Rehd. Ar.*: deis *ed.* 1475 piis *Ald.* 1517: pieis *Munro.*

621 'In hac ignis hostiliter inuadentis descriptione si mecum senties quam uim habeat polysyndeton *que* noles deleri sed ita in ordinem uersum rediges *Consequiturque ratis fugisse*,' *Buecheler.*

My conj. *fugasse* has a parallel in Luc. iii. 369 *at enim con-*

¹ Unless indeed *nimio* could be explained to mean that they snatch up 'as much as they could and more than they could.'

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tagia belli Dira fugant, 'they drive off.' There also *fugiant* might have been expected. In 615 *Colligit ille arma*, the Catinaeans (if this is the *urbs*) gather up their arms to resist the flames which have surprised them; *fugasse* continues the idea: they not only resist, but think they have routed their enemy. *ratis* abl. abs. *praemia*: Varro connects *praemium* with *praeda*, L. L. v. 178 *Praemium a praeda, quod ob recte quid factum concessum*; and the idea of booty is often felt in the word. Aen. xi. 78, 79 *Multaque praeterea Laurentis praemia pugnae Aggerat et longo praedam iubet ordine duci*. So here it is used for the effects which the Catinaeans had secured and succeeded in carrying off with them.

622 *Concremat*: a good word used by Livy, xxxviii. 23 *armis hostium in uno concrematis cumulo*, though there it is the various arms that are burnt in one fire together; in the verse of *Aetna* the men (*captis*) are burnt *with* their effects.

pascunt, νέμονται, spread. In this sense the passive is more usual. Ov. M. ix. 202 *pulmonibus errat Ignis edax imis perque omnes pascitur artus*; and so Aen. ii. 684 *circum tempora pasci*.

623 *pieis*. Some will prefer the older emendation, *deis*. It is true the Catinaean brothers were specially called *Pious*, and the ground where they shouldered and so rescued their parents was known as Εὐσεβῶν χώρος. Lycurg. c. Leocr. 98; Aristot. περὶ θαυμασίων ἀκουσμάτων, 154 = de Mundo vi; Pseud. Aristot. de Mundo, vi. 33; Strab. 269; Conon 43; Val. Max. v. 4, Ext. 4; Sen. de Benef. iii. 37, vi. 36; Sil. It. xiv. 197; Mart. vii. 24. 5; Aelian fr. 2 (Hercher); Paus. x. 28. 4; Philostr. Vit. Apollon. v. 17; Auson. 295. 2; Claudian. Carm. Minor. xvii.

But this does not prove that *piis* or *pieis* could be corrupted into *dees*. As it is, we find the word repeated *four* times in *thirteen* lines: *pietas*, 632; *pios*, 633; *pio*, 638; *piorum*, 644. *deis* would mean not that the two brothers were deified, which the words of Claudian, Carm. Min. xvii. 41, 42 *Cur non Amphinomo, cur non tibi, fortis Anapi, Aeternum Siculus templum dicauit honos*¹? seem to disprove, but that the influence of

¹ Yet *iuuenum numina* in verse 28 of the same poem points to something like divine honours.

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a divine power was so visible in their act, that the fire recognized it and fell back. Cf. de Mundo vi. 33 *ἐνθα καὶ τὸ τῶν Εὐσεβῶν γένος ἐξόχως ἐτίμησε τὸ δαιμόνιον, περικαταληφθέντων ὑπὸ τοῦ ρεύματος διὰ τὸ βαστάζειν ἐπὶ τῶν ὤμων γονεῖς καὶ σώζειν.*

624 *Amphinomus* of *Rehd. Ar.* is supported against *Amphion* of *C* by Strabo 269; Conon 43; Val. Max. v. 4, Ext. 4; Anth. Pal. iii. 17; Claud. Carm. Min. xvii. 41. Some of the MSS. of Valerius, indeed, give *Amphionus* or *Amphionis*, but this may easily be a corruption of *Amphinomus*, like the other variants recorded *Amphinonius* or *Amphionomus*.

frater, Anapias (Strabo, Conon); Anapis (Anth. P. iii. 17), Anaphas or Anapius (Kempf's MSS. of Val. Max. v. 4. Ext. 4). Claudian has *Anapi* as vocative, which might be from either Anapius or Anapis. Hyginus, Fab. 254, gives two quite different names, Damon and Phintias. Solinus v. 15, p. 56 ed. Mommsen, ed. i. says the Catinaeans called them Anapius and Amphinomus; the Syracusans, Emantias and Criton¹. [See Freeman's Appendix to vol. i of his *Hist. of Sicily*, which however is far from being exhaustive.] The orator Lycurgus only mentions *one*, and does not give his name.

fortis, Munro and Alzinger after *Rehd.* If this is right it must be added to the instances of nom. plur. in *-is*. See above on 357. Claudian similarly addresses *one* of the brethren as *fortis Anapi*, Carm. Minor. xvii. 41.

[*C* has *fontis*, which Buecheler retains, connecting it with 627 *defessos posuisse in limine membra*. The old couple, in order to quench the flames, had drawn water from a spring and were carrying it together (*pari sub munere*) when their strength gave way. This does some violence to *pari sub munere*; and even if *munere fontis* could mean 'fountain-duty,' i.e. duty of bearing water from a fountain, the addition of *pari* more naturally connects the words with the immediately preceding *Amphinomus fraterque* than with the remoter *patrem matremque*.]

626 *sequentem*, the present editor for *senemque* of *C*. Baehrens

¹ Aelian, fr. 2 Hercher, calls them Philonomus and Callias.

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conj. *senentem*, a participle of which I have found no instance, though *senet* is used by Catull. iv. 26¹.

628 *manus dulces* seems the nearest approach to *manduces*^{*} of C. The *praedae* or effects which they were trying to carry off are *dulces*, from the over-fondness which could induce their possessors to linger in defiance of the flames. Most edd. give *dites*, which is nearer *dicens* of the fifteenth-century MSS.

629 *diuitiae*: Claud. Carm. Min. xvii. 27-30 *O bene naturae memores, documenta supernae Iustitiae, iuuenum numina, uota senum: Qui spretis opibus medios properastis in ignes Nil praeter sanctam tollere canitiem*, a passage which looks like an expansion of our poem. Aelian fr. 2 τοὺς ἐαυτῶν πατέρας ἀράμενοι διὰ μέσης τῆς φλογὸς ἐκόμισαν, τῶν ἄλλων κτημάτων καταφρονήσαντες.

630 *rapient* for *rapies* of C, perhaps through *rapīēt*, as *constās* seems to have become *constat* in 520. *rapere*st Munro.

631 *fidem*, by parting off on either side and leaving a clear space for the brethren and their load. Con. 43 καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἄλλους ἢ φλόξ ἐπικαταλαβούσα ἔφθειρεν, αὐτοὺς δὲ περισχίσθη τὸ πῦρ, καὶ ὥσπερ νῆσος ἐν τῇ φλογὶ πᾶς ὁ περὶ αὐτοὺς χῶρος ἐγένετο. De Mundo vi. 33 πλησίον γὰρ αὐτῶν γενόμενος ὁ τοῦ πυρὸς ποταμὸς ἐξεσχίσθη, παρέτρεψέ τε τοῦ φλογμοῦ· τὸ μὲν ἔνθα τὸ δ' ἔνθα, καὶ ἐτήρησεν ἀβλαβεῖς ἅμα τοῖς γονεῦσι τοὺς νεανίσκους. Similarly Claudian describes the elements as pledged to save them, *Senserunt elementa fidem*, Carm. Minor. xvii. 35².

635 *Felix illa dies*: also in Cir. 27, Laus Pisonis 159, Manil. v. 569.

636-639 are thus written in C:

Dextera saeua tenet leuaque incendia ferunt
Ille per obliquos ignes fratremque triumphans
Tutus uterque pio sub pondere sufficit illa
Et circa geminos audius sibi temperat ignis.

¹ In Stat. S. iii. 5. 60 *Et nunc illa tenet uacuo quod sola cubili*; for *tenet* I conjecture *senet*.

² [Postgate conj. *uiam*, and thinks the poet had in mind Aeneas' flight through receding fires, Aen. ii. 633, Ov. F. iv. 800, Manil. iv. 23.]

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636 *Dextra saeua tenet Dorat, and so Haupt*: *Dextra saeua tenent Scaliger, interpreting τὰ δευὰ ἐκ δεξιῶν. Buecheler*

makes Pietas nom. to tenet, altering ferunt to fertur. 637 *fraterque Buecheler, and so ed. Paris. 1507 triumphant Le Clerc. Munro retained triumphans supposing after it a lacuna of one verse.* 638 *illa is explained by Buech. as Pietas, who is figured on Catinaean coins.*

A very doubtful passage. Buecheler keeps *tenet*, sc. *Pietas*, who *checks* the fierce flames on the right hand (*dextra*) and on the left. Then *fertur Ille fraterque tutus uterque pio sub pondere. Illa* (sc. *Pietas*) *sufficit*: Piety is strong enough to protect them.

The chief difficulty in this view is the remoteness of *Pietas* as a subject to *tenet*: several nominatives intervene between 632 where *Pietas* is first mentioned and 636. Again *fertur* is

hardly a probable emendation of *ferunt* which *C* gives. Lastly, if *sufficit* is genuine, its natural meaning would be, 'is able to support the burden,' as Seneca writes (ad Polyb. iii) *suffecit ille huic sarcinae*. I have preferred Baehrens' conj. *sustitit*.

Here *saeua* must be constructed with *incendia*, *tenent* = *durant*, 'last on,' 'hold out,' for which sense Lachmann and Munro on *Lucr. vi. 519* cite a great many parallels, especially from *Livy*.

obliquos means that the fire slants aside and does not meet the brothers with the full front of its flames.

illa (adverb) is explained by *pio sub pondere*: 'there, where the pious burden (of the father and mother) is carried, and round the twain.' *Ael. fr. 2 τὸ γὰρ τοι πῦρ θεόντων αὐτῶν διέστη καθ' ὃ μέρος ἐκείνοι παρῑγινοντο*. Munro makes *illa* the mother, who holds out (*sufficit*) in spite of her terror.

640 Menrad, *Archiv für Latein. Lexikogr.* 1887, p. 506, shows that *incolumis abire* is a favourite combination from *Cato* onwards. He cites *Livy*, *Curtius*, *Frontinus*, *Val. Maximus*, and the *Latin Anthology*.

tandem, a common-place touch which betrays the imperfect art of the writer, on which point see *Sonntag, Vergil als Bucolischer Dichter*, p. 235.

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642 *Ditis*, nom. as in Petron. de Bell. Civil. 76 *Ditis pater extulit ora*; and so Quint. i. 6. 34 (Munro). Götz, *Thes. Glossariorum*, p. 352, cites *Ditis pater* Πλούτων as frequently occurring in Glossaries. Serv. on Aen. vi. 273 *dicimus et hic Dis et hic Ditis*. It seems strange that Pluto should be introduced here: possibly our poet follows some lost original.

644 *Sed curae* of *C* is probably a corruption of *Securae* (Munro). He quotes Stat. T. viii. 14, where the shades of the blessed are called *securi*, explained in the scholia of Luctatius Placidus, by the words *sceleratorum suppliciiis alieni*.

EXCURSUS ON vv. 6, 7.

In the text I have adopted Munro's conjecture *Latonis* for *Dodona* of MSS. It has occurred to me since that the poet may have written :—

Seu te Cynthos habet seu Delost gratior Hyla

Seu tibi *Latona* potior,

'Whether Cynthos holds thee or Hyla is more acceptable than Delos or loved beyond Latona.'

Delos is specially *Latonian*, Georg. iii. 6, Ov. Ib. 477, Callim. H. Del. *passim*, as the island in which Latona at last found relief from her travail-pangs and gave birth to Apollo and Diana, or, on some accounts, to Apollo alone.

What is more, *Apollo* is in a special sense associated with Delos, to the exclusion, comparatively, of his sister, in the Homeric Hymn to the Delian Apollo; and the combination Cynthos, Delos, Latona, has its anticipation in verses 14 sqq.

χαίρε μάκαιρ' ὦ Δητοῖ, ἐπεὶ τέκες ἀγλαὰ τέκνα
'Απόλλωνά τ' ἄνακτα καὶ Ἄρτεμιν ἰοχέαιραν,
τὴν μὲν ἐν Ὀρτυγίῃ, τὸν δὲ κραναῇ ἐνὶ Δήλῳ,
κεκλιμένη πρὸς μακρὸν ὄρος καὶ Κύνθιον ὄχθον.

Or, if we take what looks like the earlier form, 25-27 :

ἦ ὧς σε πρῶτον Δητῶ τέκε χάρμα βροτοῖσι
κλινθεῖσα πρὸς Κύνθος ὄρος κραναῇ ἐνὶ νήσῳ,
Δήλῳ ἐν ἀμφιρύτῃ;

Again, in the last verse of the hymn, *Apollo* and Leto (without Artemis) are mentioned jointly :

αὐτὰρ ἐγὼν οὐ λήξω ἐκῆβδον Ἀπόλλωνα
ὑμνέων ἀργυρότοξον, δν ἠύκομος τέκε Δητῶ :

proofs sufficient, if proof be required, to show that our poet would be following a strictly ancient precedent in this triple allusion in the verses which form the prelude of his poem, (1) to *Delos*, as the favourite home of Apollo; (2) to *Cynthos*, as the particular *place* in Delos where Latona bore him; (3) to *Latona* herself, as inseparably associated with both Cynthos and Delos, and sharing the fondness of the god with each of them.

EXCURSUS ON v. 515.

Et figulos huic esse fidem.

Among the various hypotheses which have been framed to account for the ascription of *Aetna* to Vergil, I do not remember to have observed the occurrence in it of this allusion to the potter's art. Vergil's father, according to Suetonius, Vit. 1 *parentibus modicis fuit ac praecipue patre, quem quidem opificem figulum, plures Magi cuiusdam uiatoris initio mercennarium . . . tradiderunt*, and Phocas in the hexameters preserved in MS. Paris 8093 (Riese, Anth. Lat. 671) 30-34 :

Huic genitor figulus, Maro nomine, cultor agelli,

Vt referunt alii, tenui mercede locatus,

Sed plures figulum. quis non miracula rerum

Haec stupeat? diues partus de paupere uena

Enituit, figuli suboles noua carmina finxit,

was himself a potter. It would require but little imagination in any one acquainted with the two facts, the reputed occupation of Vergil's father, and the appeal made in *Aetna* to a minute point connected with that occupation, to combine them in some such reasoning as the following. The writer of *Aetna* shows an exact knowledge of the facts of pottery: Vergil's father was a potter: therefore Vergil was the writer of *Aetna*.

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scripta sunt quam ut hic locum habeant*

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